The Liquor Problem in Russia



Nicholas II



The LIQUOR PROBLEM IN RUSSIA

By

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"The Federal Government and the
Liquor Traffic"



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FOREWORD

THIS volume is one result of studies that I began on Russian social problems in 1913, when I visited that country with the intent of doing some muckraking in connection with the vodka monopoly. I did not carry out my original purpose, for, wherever I went, I felt a powerful undertow that indicated better things to come. The greatest men in Russia had recognized the national mistake and were thinking; and, when a Russian begins to think, something is apt to break. The greatest newspapers of the country were publishing accounts of the failure of the monopoly enterprise. Its sponsors and promoters were turning against it. The monopoly statistics were referred to as the "drunken statistics." It was in the air that great things were to happen, but the crash came before the time dreamed of by the most optimistic. The monopoly was overthrown by the exigencies of war, but its days long since, like the days of serfdom seventy-five years ago, had been numbered. The same causes that precipitated the war and the death of the monopoly also precipitated this volume.

A few words of explanation seem necessary. Because of the peculiarities of the Russian alphabet and vocabulary sounds, there is much variation in the spelling of Slavic words when done into English by current writers. No system of uniform rendering has been agreed upon by English translators, and a great variety of English spelling is the result. For instance, take the name of Doctor Grigoriev, the editor of the Petrograd temperance monthly, *Viestnik Trezvosti* (*Temperance Messenger* or *Temperance Courier*). The Russian rendering of his name is **Докторъ Григорьевъ.** It may be spelled into English as Grigorieff, Grigoriev, Grigorieu or Grigoriew. It may be found translated into English in either of these ways. I have chosen the spelling Grigoriev and have rendered all Russian names of the same Slavic termination in the same way. Further, where Russian words are rendered into English with two or more different spellings, each of which is equally authoritative, I have, in the interest of simplified spelling, used the shorter. For instance, I have spelled *veche* instead of vetche and Duma instead of Douma. Conforming to the taste of Slavic scholars, I spell Tsar instead of Czar.

As the outcome of the war, the name of the Russian capital, St. Petersburg was changed to Petrograd. To avoid confusion, this particular city is always referred to as Petrograd, throughout the book, regardless of the date of reference.

The Russian dates throughout this volume, so far as they can be identified, are "Old Style," conforming to the Russian calendar, which is thirteen days behind our own. In the case of dates, other than those of Russia, the "New Style" is followed. In other words, I adopt the same calendar dates used by the country to which the item or event occurs.

This will account for some apparent discrepancies of dates with those in current English literature. The Russians would be glad to change their calendar to conform to that of the rest of the world only that such a change would meet with powerful opposition from those opposed to upsetting the numerous feast days, saints' days and other holidays. The Slav would not suffer that to happen for any cause.

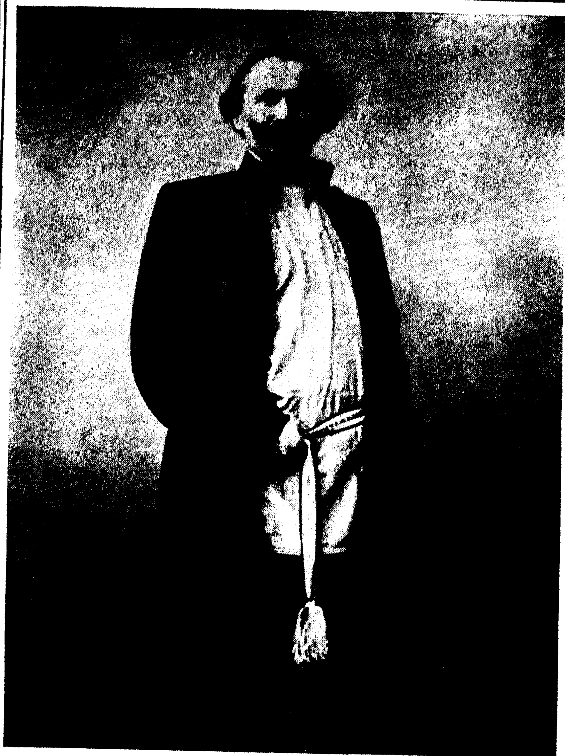
For translations and many helpful suggestions, I am indebted to Leo Pasvolsky of the editorial staff of *Russkoye Slovo,* the excellent Russian daily newspaper of New York City. By her careful revisions of my manuscript, Dr. Sarah M. Sherrick, of Otterbein College, has placed herself under obligations of the reader. She has had a civilizing and restraining influence upon my Arizona English. The drawings throughout are the work of Russell S. Henderson.

THE AUTHOR.

Westerville, Ohio, March 25, 1915.

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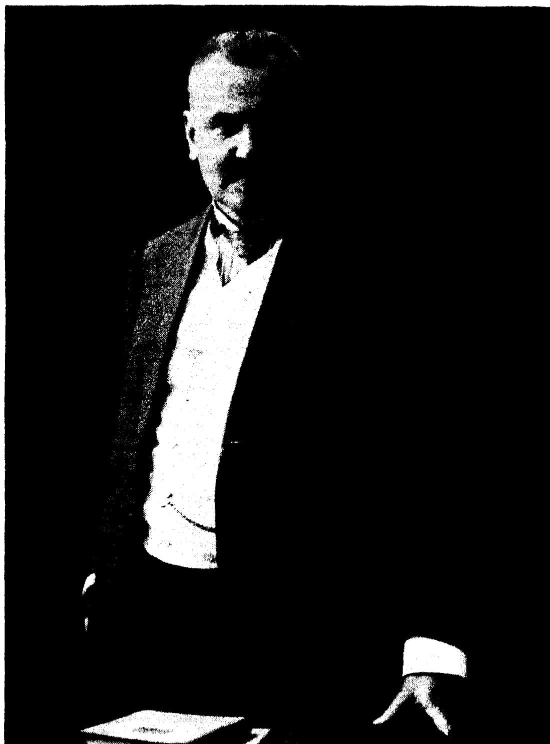
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CHAPTER I.

THE ROMANCE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE



St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Petrograd

CONTRADICTORY as it may appear, there exists in autocratic Russia a greater degree of personal liberty than in any other civilized nation on the globe. What a man does, so long as the interests of others or of the government are not directly concerned, is regarded as strictly his own affair; how much a man drinks is nobody's business so long as he commits no outrage against property or life. The Russian never dreams of criticizing a public official on account of the peccadillos of his private life. Rectitude of private life is not essential to social standing, not that shortcomings of this sort meet with popular approval, but because they are regarded as the affair only of those directly concerned. Censorship of the stage and press exists, in theory, only for the protection of the government and the dynasty. Yet it must be conceded that in a country where there is no writ of habeas corpus and no constitutional guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure, grave abuses must occur. The theoretical protection of the government frequently results in extreme cases of invasion of what are considered private rights in a constitutional government. But beyond this theoretical safeguard-

ing of authority there lies complete liberty of thought and action: there is no Anthony Comstock to interfere. Catherine the Great is no less a popular heroine because she lived the kind of a life that would have rendered her odious had she dwelt in any English-speaking nation. The Slav glories in the wonders she wrought for the advancement of Russian civilization and power. He discusses her private shortcomings in the affectionate manner that an American dilates upon the quaint yarns of Abraham Lincoln.

Americans will recall the visit made to this country some years ago by Maxim Gorky, a recognized prophet of liberty, a writer and thinker, in the very front rank of Russian life. He was in heyday world-wide popularity and America prepared to receive him with open arms. Social functions and lecture appointments were everywhere arranged. But, behold, it was discovered that his female companion was not his wife according to Anglo-Saxon canons. There was forthwith a national scandal. The lecture appointments and social functions were not only canceled, but Gorky had great difficulty in even finding a hotel where he could stay over night. Being repeatedly refused accommodations, he was driven to find lodgings in private homes. Mortified and disappointed, he recrossed the ocean, having failed to find in free America the very personal freedom that he enjoyed in his own despotic Russia. Gifted in mind and human sympathy as are few men in the world today, Gorky could not understand; he does not now understand.

Russian books and newspapers freely discuss those things that are not mentioned in the literature of English-speaking countries. Whether a man is divorced or has an unofficial family is a matter of su-

preme indifference to his associates. One of the American consuls told me of a lady friend, an American, who came to Russia and visited the Tolstoi home near Tula. She was walking over the estate with Tolstoi and his family, male and female, when they came to a pond. "I have not yet had my morning swim; won't you join us?" remarked Tolstoi as he began disrobing. The family followed suit. The lady excused herself from participating in the swim, but sat by while the nude philosopher and his family enjoyed their innocent morning recreation.

Russia has produced more idealists than any other people on earth. Her greatest writers, men who have taken an immortal grip upon the great heart of the world, men who have expressed the deepest thoughts of the human soul, are men like Tolstoi, Gorky, Tourgeniev and Dostoievsky. Lomonosov created and tuned the instrument of the Russian language. Pushkin used it to voice the Slavic consciousness and lay bare the national heart. The chorus voiced by them all was an appeal for "liberty."

There is foundation for the claim that absolute freedom of manners and thought, that unrestrained personal liberty, flourishes better under a despotism than under political democracy. Renan points out that individual freedom of thought in Rome under Nero compared favorably with that enjoyed under the Athenian censorship in its prime. But the existence of a broad personal liberty nowhere implies the existence of political liberty. In fact the reverse is more apt to be true. A people inordinately tenacious of their individual rights, a people repugnant to discipline, who rebel at conceding anything to the common good, are the people who, while retaining their personal liberty of thought and action, generally lose

their political rights. There can be no political liberty without some discipline of the people by and through themselves. The people of a given entity, who insist upon their right to say violent things, to throw their refuse into the street, to harbor a cross dog, to build a fire-trap in populated sections, to throw to the winds marriage laws, to clothe themselves indecently, to sell in the open markets adulterated foods and poisonous drinks; such a people may succeed in enjoying these personal prerogatives, but they do it at the cost of their political liberties and social well-being.

No fact is better known about Russia throughout the world than the constant struggle of her people to attain political liberty. This struggle is particularly promoted by her middle classes and her "intellectuals," as well as by great segments of her higher and lower orders. It has been an international wonder that 180,000,000 of people would, year after year and decade after decade, submit to an autocracy, however benevolent and however paternal it may be. The phenomenon is generally attributed to the prevailing ignorance of the people. This doubtless explains much, but another cause, equally potent, is to be found in the stubborn determination of the Slav to yield not one jot or tittle of his personal rights for the common good. Like the wild horse of the Nevada plains, that prefers to suffer the pangs of starvation and cold rather than submit to the comforts of the restrained corral, the Slav is unwilling to pay the inevitable price which will secure to him the blessings of a democratic form of government. The Russian proletariat, the "intelligents," and especially the militant reformers, by their insistence upon immaterial things, by their tenacious demand for complete liberty of thought and

manners, by their domineering conduct, inability to sacrifice party spirit, and their jealousies to purely class and local interests, by their utter inability to act with sufficient discipline to ensure a necessary minimum degree of co-operation, and by obstinately antagonizing other theories that do not coincide with their own in every particular, have managed to defeat their own ambitions and render impossible any general concerted plan of deliverance. It is the lesson of history that untrammeled individualism leads to despotism. When the individuals cannot agree, the despot assumes control and the result is an autocracy.

When the curtain rose upon the history of the Slavic peoples about the middle of the ninth century, there appeared a conglomeration of independent principalities in the region south of Lake Ladoga and about the upper waters of the Dnieper. This people was the kernel out of which grew the Russian Empire of today. These Slavic tribes were not Asiatics except in the sense that all the Indo-Aryans of Europe were Asiatics. History finds them first in the Carpathian mountains, along the banks of the Danube, drifting to the north and east. The ancient towns of Novgorod, Pskow, Kiev, Smolensk and Rostov were their fortified centers for protection and trade. For the most part, the government of these so-called principalities was more or less that of a pure democracy. The "prince" was merely a hired fighting man, who looked after the defenses and got his instructions from the people. These instructions and other rules were made in a popular assembly, the *veche,* called together whenever necessary by the ringing of the great bell. These hired fighting princes were mostly Varangers, adventurers from Scandinavia of the north. Hence, these little governments became known as the

principalities of the *Variagi,* or Varangers. As the *Variag* came from a land called "Rus," the words "Russia" and "Russland" came into existence. It is a curious fact the Slavic tongue had no word to express the idea of king, prince or anyone set to rule over them. For a name for these princes, recourse was had to the Scandinavian tongue, and the term "Koening" was corrupted into the Slavic *kniaz.* Later the chief prince or grand duke came to be known as the *velikii kniaz.* Even the word "tsar" is a Slavic corruption of the Latin caesar.* What more eloquent testimony could there be to the inherent democratic character of a people than that their very language had no word to express the idea of a ruler, prince or despot?

Surrounding the prince was a retinue of boyars, made up of hired fighting adventurers and landed proprietors, who were men of much political influence. The boyars not only defended the people, but they held the prince in check should he attempt oppression. The prince, as the hired commander of the troops, was compelled to take a solemn oath to obey the ancient laws and usages, and if he failed in his trust he was summarily deposed and expelled. The people had an old proverb in rhyme:

Koli khud kniaz,
Tak v griaz.

(If the prince is bad, into the mud with him). The *veche* made laws for the behavior of the prince as well as the people. Governing those stiff-necked burghers and rebellious boyars was not an easy undertaking. Once, in the principality of Galitch, the burghers seized

*Some authorities hold that Tsar is the Babylonian and Ninevite final *osor, ezzar, asar,* etc., to royal names signifying throne or authority.

their prince, killed his favorites, cheerfully burned his mistress alive and compelled him to swear that in the future he would live with his own wife.*

The political character of these petty independent principalities varied with local conditions. When the prince was strong and the people inactive, more or less of despotism prevailed; when the burghers were virile and aggressive and the prince was weak, democracy of the purest type prevailed. The people got what rights they insisted upon and no more.

The prevailing custom of electing as their hired princes fighting *Variagi* from Rus furnished temptation for adventurers from the Varanger country to make forays upon these isolated entities in quest of loot. Because the Slavs were split up into small political segments, it was considered expedient to pay tribute to the bandits from the north rather than to fight them, and thus the policy of paying tribute or blackmail came into existence. The growing exactions of the *Variagi* led to their undoing; for the Slavs finally combined, refused to pay further tribute and drove out the northern oppressors. After the principalities had obtained their freedom from toll, they quarreled among themselves. Each burgher wanted to be let alone in the enjoyment of his individual rights, but, without common and concerted agreement, they were unable to enjoy these rights. Just as the power of the hand lies in the organized fist rather than in the individual fingers, so the strength of these burghers lay in united action, but they failed at the critical point. They were farmers and traders rather than warriors, and, unsatisfactory as it was, they decided that the hired rule of the Varangers was better than

*Wallace, *Russia,* Vol. II., p. 90. Ed. of 1878.

unrestrained chaos. In their extremity, they sent an embassy or committee to the north to employ a prince to keep order among themselves. In response to this invitation, three brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truvor, *Variagi,* came, in the year 862.* Rurik took charge at Novgorod (New Town), the brothers occupying neighboring principalities. The brothers shortly died and Rurik, who was strong and enterprising, annexed their dominions. About the same time, Askold, another Varanger, was installed as prince of Kiev, and because Kiev was located in a more strategic point and beset by enemies from the east and west, it was more subject to attack, and the later permanent combinations of principalities had its origin there. It is, therefore, a matter of historical dispute as to whether Kiev or Novgorod† was the birthplace of the Russian government. But Rurik, because he was succeeded by a long line of reigning princes, and because he and his successors dominated more and more the entire section, is regarded as the founder of the first dynasty of Russian rulers. The year 862, the year of the coming of Rurik, is regarded as the birthday of the Russian Empire. Indeed, in 1862, Russia celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the birth of the government, and it is peculiarly significant that it was at Novgorod that the great historic monument, consisting of a massive circular stone pedestal and an enor-

*Baring, *The Russian People,* p. 76; Wallace, *Russia,* Vol. I., p. 276, Vol. II., p. 273; Morfill, *History of Russia,* p. 19; Rambaud, *History of Russia,* Vol. I., p. 65; Rurik is a half mythical character, but this is the story given in all of the old Russian histories.

†Novgorod should not be confused with the well-known Nizhni-Novgorod (Lower Novgorod), the seat of the great Russian fairs on the Volga.

mous globe, was erected in memory of the event. And it seems most fitting that this monument stands in the public square, on the very spot where, for six hundred years, the burghers met, at the ringing of the great bell, to enact laws for the prince and the people, to declare war, to make peace, to levy taxes. Novgorod was the longest existing pure democracy in the history of the world.

Even Rurik, founder of the first dynasty, did not enjoy great powers. He was and his successors were subject to the power of the assembly of burghers, who met at the sound of the great bell and who retained all power in their own hands. The princes continued as the hired commanders of troops and the presiding officers of the judicial administration. The judges were elected and deposed by the people as they saw fit. The fluctuating sentiment of the unruly people resulted in many dismissals of judges and princes as well as frequent resignations. It is of record that there were thirty abdications of princes within the period of a single century.* In seven years, Novgorod alone changed princes five times. The great Jaroslav came back the fourth time to the troublesome throne. Because the descendants of Rurik were numerous, there were always plenty of eligible candidates available. The people fought among themselves, the majority often drowning leaders of the rebellious minority in the Volkhof. One by one these principalities lost their liberties, coming under the real control of the prince or being absorbed in the jurisdiction of a greater prince. Novgorod continued as an independent democracy, holding on to her liberties, for the most part, for six centuries. She grew and prospered. She became

*Wallace, *Russia,* Vol. I., p. 277. Ed. of 1878.

at one time a powerful state, extending her territories to the Gulf of Finland and northward even to the White Sea, and eastward to the Asiatic border. This principality became a sort of a commercial outpost of the Hanseatic League, and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it proudly styled itself *Gospodin Veliki Novgorod* (Lord Novgorod the Great).

Religious and civil liberty went hand in hand.* Christianity had been introduced by Grand Prince Vladimir of Kiev, a grandson of Rurik, in genuine Russian fashion. Vladimir had marched his half-clad soldiers down to the Crimea, where he swore a pagan oath that if he captured the Christian town, he and his whole people would embrace the faith of the Cross. His mother, Princess Olga, had already been converted and baptized. Vladimir captured the city, made good his oath by baptism, and married immediately the sister of the Emperor of Byzantium, on the very spot now covered by the Church of the Holy Mother of God at Chersonesus. The whole population of Kiev were immediately baptized (987). Christianity began to spread, and Vladimir took his place in history as Vladimir the Saint. It was Jaroslav, son of Vladimir, who built at Novgorod the famous church, St. Sophia, which was well supplied with wonder-working images and bones. Novgorod was then in the height of her glory and her Metropolitan acknowledged no obedience to the Metropolitan of either Kiev or Moscow. "Who can withstand God and Lord Novgorod the Great?" said the people. The *veche* of

*While this statement is generally true, it is subject to exceptions. In the fourteenth century, the *vechê* became so enthusiastic in promoting the national faith that they put to death heretical *strigoliki,* forbade ancient superstitions and burned sorcerers at the stake.

Novgorod elected their own archbishop and, if he proved to be unsatisfactory, they dismissed him. The church of Novgorod was essentially a national church. The city was full of churches and monasteries. The principality reached the height of its power under the great Jaroslav and his son, the sainted Alexander Nevsky.

But evil days fell upon the proud democracy. On the west, the Lithuanian princes, having united various small principalities, became strong and aggressive. On the east, a new danger arose in the invasion of the Tartar hordes. True, the Asiatic nomads never devastated the city of Novgorod. But for a time Novgorod paid tribute. Kiev and most of the Russian cities of the day were destroyed by the Mongol torch. For two centuries, (1238-1462) Tartar rule extended over practically all of Russia. But the Tartar Khans, essentially nomads in their character, limited their government to that of distant suzerains. A resident viceroy called the *bashak* acted as a sort of local agent for the collection of taxes. While the Russians thereby became vassals of the Mongols, they did pretty much as they pleased so long as they paid their taxes and acknowledged the lordship of the Khan. Driven, at length, by the need of common defense, the Russian principalities in the



Father John of Cronstadt

east combined and were finally united under the prince of Moscow, and, under this leadership, became sufficiently powerful to throw off the Tartar yoke. In this process, the *veche,* or the assembly of burghers, gradually lost its power, an authority at first military, then civil, passing it on to the prince, who became more and more autocratic in his prerogatives.

In this, there arose a new danger to the Republic of Novgorod and the neighboring small democracies. Moscow sought to extend her jurisdiction to the principalities of the west, which were already being encroached upon by the princes of Lithuania. Novgorod, Pskow and the other principalities were thus caught between two millstones, and it was apparent that they must soon either become Lithuanian or Muscovite.* More and more the responsibility of defending the principalities from foes on both sides fell to the lot of the princes. The *veche,* yielding bit by bit to the military needs of the day, gradually lost its power. The blind autocracy of Moscow, which had destroyed the Tartar oppression from the east, was now turned upon the principalities of the west. Novgorod, in the meantime, had fallen into internal discord. There was not sufficient cohesion in the democracy to withstand the assault of organized autocracy, and Novgorod was doomed. The autocracy of Moscow, developed under Dimitri Donskoi,† was con-

*The word "Muscovite" as now applied to the Russian people is something of a misnomer. It was first applied when Moscow became the center of power, was continued during the centuries when Moscow was the capital and is still used to designate the whole Russian people.

†The coalition of Russian princes, formed by Dimitri Donskoi, won the great victory of liberation in 1380 over Khan Mamai of the Golden Horde on the battlefield of Kulikovo.

tinued under his successors. The complete suppression of the moribund states and the creation of the autocracy was the work of Ivan III., better known as Ivan the Great, his son Basil and his grandson Ivan IV., known in history as Ivan the Terrible. Ivan III., in 1470, brought Novgorod under Muscovite rule to the extent of compelling the principality to pay tribute, and the Republic was practically ended by further aggressions eight years later. Subject to the prince of Moscow, it had a partially independent existence until the last vestige of liberty was crushed by the hideous slaughter of Ivan the Terrible. In 1570 the blow fell. Ivan the Terrible, fresh from bloody slaughter in other sections, approached Novgorod, devastating the towns and villages with fire and sword. Priests and monks were tied to the stake and flogged daily; merchants and officials were tortured with fire, and then thrown into the river with their wives and children, and, lest any should escape by swimming, boatloads of soldiers dispatched those who were not killed by the fall. It is not known how many were slaughtered in the villages, but it is said that not less than 60,000 people were butchered in the town during the six weeks' orgy of blood and horror.* Thus fell the city of Novgorod. There was closed in this wholesale massacre the life of the longest existing Republic in the history of the world. Novgorod had a democratic life of about 600 years. The municipal Republic of Pskow, an offshoot of Novgorod, soon collapsed, and

*Any one who cares to read further about the appalling cruelties of Ivan the Terrible, and of his predecessors, is referred to Ralston's *Early Russian History,* published in London in 1874. In a fit of anger Ivan assassinated his own son, Demetrius, thus leaving no competent heir to the throne, leaving it open to competition. See also *Celebrated Crimes of the Russian Court,* by Alexandre Dumas.

political liberty in Russia came to a somber end. Ivan the Terrible, in his bloody campaign of twenty-four years, destroyed the boyars and cemented the autocratic power in Moscow as had never been done before.* Democracy was dead and here the story of autocracy begins.

Three hundred and fifty years later, I stood with bowed head in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Petrograd. Surrounding me were the tombs of every Tsar of the Romanoff dynasty save one. The great chimes in the tower were pealing out the Russian national hymn, *Kol Slavin*, and the golden robed priest intoned in mellow, rolling bass, "*Gospodi pomiluy, Gospodi pomiluy.*" "*Gospodi pomiluy, Gospody pomiluy,*" echoed the beggar, knocking her forehead upon the cold, paved floor. The duke, the merchant, the *isvoschik*, matrons, children, uniformed army officers, student, thief and the harlot took up the refrain, "*Gospodi pomiluy, Gospody pomiluy.*" I wondered then and there if the time was not approaching when the Russian people, under God, would come into their own. Little did I then dream (1913) that, within two years, the chief cause of Russian suffering, the chief obstacle to real Russian liberty, would receive its deathblow and receive it at the hands of the "Autocrat of All the Russias." The miracle is the more bewildering when we clearly realize that, in the face of the most expensive and destructive war in which the nation ever engaged, the Russian government has thereby thrown to the four winds an annual revenue amounting to nearly a thousand millions of roubles.

*In these savage forays, Ivan was accompanied by a special court, the *Oprichniki,* which has no parallel in history except that of the Turkish Janizaries of their worst period.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

WITH some explanations and discounts, the Russian government may be described as an "absolute autocracy." Prior to the remodeling of the fundamental laws, which took place between the Imperial manifesto of October 17, 1905, and the meeting of the first Duma on April 27, 1906, the powers of the Tsar were officially described as "autocratic and unlimited." The official style is still "Emperor and autocrat of all the Russias," but the word "unlimited" is omitted. The *Almanach de Gotha* for 1910 describes the government with the contradictory phrase "a constitutional monarchy under an autocratic Tsar." Section 4 of the fundamental laws, confirmed April 23, 1906, provides that "the supreme autocratic power is vested in the Emperor of all the Russias." But this again is contradictory, for this same act (Section 7) stipulates that the Monarch wields the legislative power in conjunction with the Imperial Council and the Duma. Section 86 of the act throws light on the situation and explains this apparent contradiction with what is essentially another contradiction. This section provides that "no new law may be promulgated without the assent of the Imperial Council and the Duma, or enforced without the sanction of the Monarch." In other words, the Imperial



Council and the Duma may pass laws to their complete satisfaction, but they cannot be "enforced without the sanction of the Monarch." The fundamental laws referred to above designated further limits of the powers of the Monarch and outline affirmatively many of his constitutional rights, but, in the last analysis, everything is within the Imperial control, either by the direct right of veto or through the provision that legislative acts cannot be "enforced without the sanction of the Monarch."

The imperial manifesto described (*supra*) decreed that, in the future, no measure was to become a law without the consent of the imperial Duma (*Gosudarstvennaya Duma.*) Under the law of February 20, 1907, Council of the Empire (*Gosudarstvenniy Sovyet*) was associated with the Duma as a legislative upper house, thus creating a bi-cameral legislative body. Under the ukase of June 2, 1907, the fundamental laws were completely upset in a reorganization of the electorate, the ukase being a flat defiance* of the original manifesto limiting the powers of the Monarch. Under these conditions, there is something of a twilight zone lying between the autocratic powers of the Monarch and the supposed powers of the Duma and the Imperial Council. By a succession of acts and incidents covering a sufficient period, the real boundaries of the fundamental law will eventually be established, no doubt, under the process known in Anglo-American countries as *stare decisis.*

In effect, the Russian system is not far removed from the benevolent despotism set up in the Philippine Islands by the United States after the close of

*Premier Stolypin vigorously defended this ukase on the ground that what the autocrat had granted, he could take away.



A RUSSIAN TROIKA

the Spanish War. We set up a form of government in which the Filipino had no voice and the source of all power and authority lay in Washington, a city 12,000 miles away. Finally a sort of a legislature was provided for, but which had no final authority, all its acts being subject to veto by an alien power on the other side of the globe, which power was administered by appointees responsible in no way to the people whose affairs were being served. This is not necessarily a criticism of the system, either in Russia or in the Philippines. In each case circumstances and conditions may provide justification. "It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us," is the language of the late Grover Cleveland when circumstances arose that made difficult the application of commendable abstract theories of equity. We justify our course in the Philippines, in foisting upon those people a government without their consent and against their active opposition, on the ground that these people are not prepared for self-government, chiefly because they are illiterate. The autocratic government of Russia finds its principal justification for conducting the same policy in the same argument, that of illiteracy.

Those who, in theory at least, advocate the unlimited suffrage, and who recognize that a free people can only be free when educated, must stand aghast at the problem presented by Russia in the way of illiteracy. Of the entire empire, only 21 per cent of the population is able to read and write. The per cent varies widely, but the following is illuminating:

GOVERNMENT*	PER CENT OF ILLITERACY
Baltic Provinces	29-20
Petrograd	47
Moscow	60
Warsaw	61
Poland	69.5
European Russia	77.1
Caucasus	87.6
Siberia	87.7
Central Asia	94.7
Kovno	58

Our fathers, who went through the reconstruction following the Civil War with 4,000,000 ignorant freedmen voters, can imagine the troubles that would confront Russia had she undertaken the same feat with ten times that number of voters freshly freed from slavery. Before abusing Russia too severely for her form of government, while admitting its imperfections, it is well to consider the appalling character of the problem which she faces.

Americans know the troubles that followed the dumping of 4,000,000 slaves loose into citizenship at once. About the same time that this was done, Russia turned loose 40,000,000 serfs. It is true that America immediately conferred upon the freed slaves unlimited suffrage. In later years we took back through our "grandfather clauses" a large part of the suffrage rights so conferred, and Russia, also, took away a large part of the suffrage she conferred by the round-about way of enlarging the veto powers of the provincial governors and other imperial agents.

This argument, however, so far as Russia is concerned, loses some of its force when the case of the Grand Duchy of Finland is considered. In that duchy,

*Kennard; *The Russian Year Book* for 1914, p. 90.

the rate of illiteracy is perhaps lower than that of any people on earth. Russia justifies her autocratic administration there, in part, on the ground that if Russia did not rule these people, they would not remain an independent political entity, but would fall into the hands of some other power. A parallel of that argument is found in our American claim that if we did not rule the Filipino people against their will, they would not long remain a political unit, but would be taken over by Japan.

The common conception of an autocracy is that of a monarch who sits on a throne and whose absolute will, without considering anybody or any outside influences, is supreme throughout his dominions. Such a government does not exist in Russia and such a government has never existed in its full completeness since the foundation of the world. No single man ever held such power or ever will. Any ruler must, in a measure, meet the views of others, must concede, must yield here and there to the ambitions and wishes of others, must consider public opinion before he remotely approaches such a theoretical power. There is a wide gulf between an autocracy in theory and an autocracy in fact. With an area of more than one-seventh of the earth's surface in land, with a population of more than 180,000,000, nearly twice that of the United States, with an illiteracy of 79 per cent, with a bedlam of scores of radically divergent races and speaking many different languages, with a mixture of religions inherently hostile to each other, Russia presents probably the greatest governmental problem in the world today.

While in theory Russia is an autocracy, the Tsar has a constant struggle before him to secure the carrying out of his wishes, which must, in the very

nature of the case, filter down through a long chain of officials or deputy autocrats until the people are reached.

On the other hand, the peasant is constantly and pathetically reaching upward and outward to receive from above the blessings which they fondly believe the "Little White Father" is struggling to communicate to them through the wilderness of officialdom which lies between. Getting the Imperial will down to the people is too often like getting aid to the sinking Titanic—so much of it fails to connect.

In America the situation is reversed. The source of power is in the people and the people have a constant struggle in getting their wishes expressed into law. They must be communicated from below, through a jungle of political intrigue, caucuses and conventions — a wilderness where political wolves abide and where sinister interests must be placated.

Under the Russian system,* the "Imperial Council" corresponds very nearly to our United States Senate, except as to the manner of its election. The Duma corresponds to our House of Representatives. Within certain limits, these two bodies hold the legislative power. The Tsar is surrounded by his twelve ministers or "cabinet," and holds the absolute veto power and sole executive power. The veto power is not often exercised; the Russian way is to fail to "carry it out" or execute it. Each minister also has large powers. All officials of each minister wear the uniform or "colors" of his master. So if one sees a

*Those desiring more complete information of the Russian political organization should consult Dr. Kennard's latest *Year Book;* Pares' *Russia and Reform;* Wallace's *Russia;* Geddie's *Russian Empire;* Stadling's *Through Siberia,* and, of course, Rambaud's great work, *The History of Russia.*

uniformed official on the streets, he knows to what branch of the Imperial service he belongs.

The Minister of the Interior, through his agents, has certain powers of vetoing the acts of the local or district Zemstvo.



The Tsar is the civil head of the Greek Church. The Church has no ecclesiastical head, as all eclesiastical questions were supposed to have been settled by the first seven Ecumenical Councils held in the early history of the Christian Church.

The "Senate" (*Pravitelstvuyushchi Senat*), established by Peter the Great, formerly had the chief preparation of legislative acts, but also has in its control certain administrative functions. It now very nearly corresponds to our United States Supreme Court, but still retains many of its administrative duties. This, in brief, is a skeleton of the Imperial government which has its headquarters in Petrograd, a city of 1,700,000 people, one-tenth of whom are in uniform.

The Empire is divided into seventy-eight "governments" (*guberniya*), which very nearly correspond to the American "states." They will average somewhat larger than our own states. At the head of each "government," there is a governor appointed by the Tsar on recommendation of the Minister of the Interior. The governor is considered as a personal representative of the Tsar and in fact is a sort of a "deputy Tsar" in his functions and powers.

Six of the larger cities, including Petrograd and Moscow, constitute each a "government" of itself, at the head of which is a "prefect," whose powers are the same as those of a governor. It is as if Chicago or New York city constituted a state by itself. Another complication lies in the fact that certain groups of "governments" or "states" have above them a "governor-general," a dignitary who has charge of the governors of his particular group of states.

For the assistance of the governor, a board of administration is created, which, in turn, is split up into departments very much like the departments of an American state government.

No act of any legislative body within a given government is valid until it has been approved by the governor. He might be called the "deputy autocrat" of his particular government. Indeed, he has certain legislative power, the right to promulgate certain "compulsory regulations" which have the force of law, just as the Tsar may promulgate a "special ukase" when the Duma is not in session. This power of the Tsar to promulgate laws during the recess of the Duma continues the essentials of autocracy. Early in 1911, Premier Stolypin made use of this to introduce Zemstvo administration in the Western governments, a measure to which the Duma would not agree and which situation resulted in a crisis.

In each government there is a "government zemstvo assembly," an elective legislative body which corresponds to our state legislature. This legislative body has powers somewhat corresponding to our legislatures, but its every act is subject to the veto of the governor. Its members are made up of elected representatives of (a) the district zemstvo; (b) representatives of the nobility; (c) of the government and

district councils; (d) of the clergy and of the Department of Agriculture.

The governor not only has the veto power over the acts of the government assembly or zemstvo, but he also exercises the veto power over the acts of all legislative subdivisions within his government. It is the same as if the governor of an American state had the veto power over every act of a county board of supervisors or board of county commissioners in his state and even the veto power over every act of a village council or town meeting within his state. This power he exerts as needs be, sometimes in person and sometimes through certain under officials or agents which will be described later, and who, in turn, are in effect deputies of the deputy autocrats.

Each government (or state) is subdivided into "districts" (*Uiezd*), which in a way have their counterpart in the American congressional district. It comprises more than the canton, which corresponds to our American county. But, differing from the American system, the district has a zemstvo of its own and a set of officers who exercise certain legislative and administrative duties.

This district zemstvo is made up of members elected by the nobility and by the local cantons. It holds its sessions once a year, which are presided over by the marshal of the district, who is elected by the nobility. During the interim, the affairs of the district are carried on by a committee. This zemstvo has jurisdiction over certain matters of taxation, charitable institutions and so on. In fact, usually about forty members are elected to the district zemstvo, but the governor of the province selects from the list about a dozen who actually serve. The selection is usually made on the advice of the marshal. The no-

bility distinctly control the zemstvo of the districts. The decisions and acts of the district zemstvo are subject to revision on appeal to the Senate.

The operations of the district zemstvo are subject, therefore, to two checks: First, the governor controls the selection of its members, and (2) has the veto power over the zemstvo. The acts are subject to senatorial revision on appeal.

The district, in turn, is divided into cantons or *volosts,* which in a way correspond to the counties of American states. The *volosts* vary greatly in size. Some of them have only two or three villages and some as many as thirty. In each canton or *volost* there is a zemstvo. Each village or *mir* elects one representative for every ten families, and the assembly of these so selected constitute the cantonal zemstvo. This canton is really the unit of Russian governmental administration. The *volost* zemstvo elects an elder or *starosta,* who represents the canton in all its dealings with the government, the district and with Petrograd. It elects judges, who preside over trials and petty disputes arising between peasants. The taxes are paid through the *starosta* who is responsible for his canton.

The canton zemstvo is made up entirely of peasants, elected by peasants exclusively, and deals only with peasant affairs. It is controlled by the peasants more completely even than the district zemstvo is controlled by the nobility. All of its acts, however, are subject to revision by the local agent of the governor of the province, known as the "land captain." The land captain does not exercise the veto power directly, but transmits "meritorious" cases to the governor with his recommendation. Inasmuch as the governor knows nothing about the matter and is too

busy to investigate, he usually follows the recommendation of the land captain, who thus becomes the local autocrat of the canton or *volost.* He is an appointee of the governor of the province.

In theory, the village or *mir* is an independent, self-governing body. It resembles in some respects an Indian Pueblo of the far Southwest. For the most part, its lands are held in common like those of an Indian tribe, though their use is apportioned by the village assembly. In this assembly, which is not dignified with the name of a zemstvo, each head of a house has one vote. Each householder is a sort of a stockholder in the communal corporation. The village may elect new members, lease lands, discipline its members and buy farm machinery in common and so on. Most of the American farm machinery sold in Russia is sold to these village organizations. The larger village elects a village *starosta,* but in the smaller ones the headman is merely called "the elected one." The so-called "Tenth Man" of a *mir* assists as a sort of a secretary, whose chief duty is to go around and tap on the windows with a long pole when the *starosta* or the "elected one" decides to call a meeting. Each member of the *mir* is a part owner of the common property of the village and he also must share in the common responsibilities. The village taxes are paid in bulk to the canton and an able-bodied man is regarded as a source of revenue to help make up the tax budget. Therefore, he cannot leave the *mir* of which he is a member and separate himself therefrom without buying himself out. If he leaves the village and does not



buy himself out, he must send home his earnings or a portion thereof to aid in bearing the common burdens.

The town council or village assembly may buy more land or sell that which it has, its dealings, however, being under the supervision of the land captain, who, in turn, is responsible to the marshal of the district as the agent of the governor.

Such, in brief, is the skeleton of the Russian administrative system, but in this no account is taken of the police system, which is another network under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, and whose functions in fact (but not in theory) are interwoven with the administrative organization, though independent thereof. The police system acts as an additional check upon the functions and activities of the local, district, *volost* and provincial bodies.

The whole system has a theoretical basis of self-government, the foundations for which were outlined by Catherine II. and which was carried into execution by Alexander II. But Alexander, at a critical moment, found his career cut short by being blown to pieces by a Nihilist bomb. But, while the system has a theoretical basis of self-government, it is also based on the theory that all power and authority is filtered down from above. In fact, this same paternal power reserves to itself all sorts of checks, balances and veto powers. The powers of the village, the canton, the district and the governments are not distinctly surveyed and set down by law. Generally speaking, any of them are permitted to take most any kind of action they see fit, but this action is not necessarily carried out. It is not carried out and cannot be carried out unless approved by the sources of authority above. As an instance, many of these local zemstvo and gov-

ernmental bodies voted prior to the war that there should be no more liquor sold by the government monopoly in their midst, but resolutions of this sort were not carried into effect because not validated by the powers above. It was very much as if an American village council should vote to close up the government postoffice. They could vote again and again, but the postoffice would continue to do business as before. While this was true as to government vodka shops, it was not strictly true as to private liquor selling. Under the manifesto of February 19, 1861, large powers of self-government were given to local legislative organizations. In theory, they had the power to prohibit liquor shops in the villages and cantons, and many did so. But as long as there was close by a local government vodka shop, which they could not close and from which the local authorities could collect no revenue, the villages naturally would license private shops from which they could derive a revenue for the relief of taxation.

It was and is the theory that the local authorities and the individual could do anything not forbidden by law. This was a principle enunciated by Catherine II., in 1766, when she called a Council of Deputies from all over the Empire to discuss a new code of laws. The instructions from Catherine contained these words, "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation; for citizens' equality consists in only having to obey the law. Liberty is the right of doing anything that is not forbidden by law. It is better to spare ten criminals than to ruin one innocent man." The people took more seriously than did Catherine some of her high-sounding phrases, which she gleaned largely from the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Beccara.



CHAPTER III.

RUSSIAN CHARITY



THE Russian is always religious and always charitable. Yet there is no apparent connection between the two. Religion has nothing to do with Russian conduct. On the streets, the thief, the priest, the official, the business man, the laboring man and the prostitute are equally careful to make the sign of the cross whenever they pass a shrine, a church, a graveyard or when they meet a funeral procession. Religion is a part of patriotism and, as Maurice Baring so well sets forth,* "religion in Russia, whether believed or not, will always remain a part of patriotism; and so long as there is a Russian nation, there will be a Russian religion at the core of it."

There are probably more freakish religious sects in Russia than in any other country in the world, and the unlucky Russian government is entitled to more sympathy than it gets in its efforts to deal with them. The frightful *Skpotsi* would carry out literally the exhortation, "if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out," and on the police devolved formerly the thankless task of preventing them from doing it. The *Dietoubiytsi* (slayers of children) felt it their duty to send the souls of new-born babies straight to heaven

**The Russian People*, p. 358. See also Saloviev; *History of Russia*, p. 157. Sir Charles Eliot also expresses the same view.

before they become corrupted with sin. Another sect, the *Dushilschiki* (the suffocators) believed that their parents and friends should be preserved from a natural death, hence they suffocated them. The *Filipovtsi* taught the doctrine of suicide. The *Molchalniki* would never speak. The famous *Dukhobortsi* refused to accept any marriage law, practiced free love, and refused to register births and deaths because the Lord knew all about it. They fled to Canada in 1898 and found as much fault with the laws of Canada as with those of Russia. The *Molokani,* or drinkers of milk, resemble the *Dukhobortsi,* and are a worthy people in many respects. They taboo alcohol, tobacco and meat. Some of the Tartars have a doctrine which requires them to shave every part of their bodies except the head and face. The "Old Believers" constitute a really powerful sect of the Greek church, which originated in a protest against making certain corrections in the ritual of the church, purely matters of error made by copyists. To shave their whiskers is a mortal sin. They strenuously uphold the practice of making the sign of the cross by using two fingers instead of three. They allege that the Holy Ghost was not on the cross. The two fingers represent the dual nature of Christ, that of God and man, and they hold that the Holy Ghost had no part in the crucifixion.* Witchcraft, which always thrives in ignorance, breaks out occasionally in the *mir.* While I was in Petrograd in 1913, a distemper, prevalent in an interior Russian village, was charged up to witchcraft, and the excited people turned out en masse to hunt down the witch. The village rumseller was accused and the mob beat him to death. Apparently the people guessed right

*Pares; *Russia and Reform,* p. 141.

for once, but the affair provided another disagreeable job for the police. The "Jumpers" are a sect somewhat resembling the "Holy Rollers" of America, but some of their ceremonies are of such a character that they cannot be described in print.

From end to end, Russia is honeycombed with charitable institutions and charitable enterprises, many of which are under clerical control and management. They do not seem, however, to have their origin in religion, but spring rather from the natural desire of the people to be helpful. In this we mark another contradiction of the Slavic mind. When a Russian violates a law, punishment of the most brutal sort is inflicted and the offender submits with true Slavic stoicism. But the traveler among these people cannot but observe everywhere the spirit of helpfulness and the universal desire to render assistance. On the trains, at the hotels and wherever I went, the German appeared for the most part in the arrogant role of an Almighty being; the Austrian was haughty, selfish and indifferent; the Frenchman was cynical and frivolous; but the Russian, the Lett and the Finn hovered around like a friend watching for a chance to be helpful, to render some kindness.

I was at sea for thirteen days with a party of sixty Russian doctors, lawyers, school teachers and professional men who were returning from a tour of America. By canvassing to ascertain what American thing most interested them, I learned to my surprise that they were not at all concerned in the Washington Monument, in Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon or even Bunker Hill. They were only eager to know all about American social and charitable enterprises. They had visited Hull House in Chicago, journeyed to Freeville, New York, to inspect the George Junior

Republic, and had made themselves familiar with the social settlement enterprises of the "East Side" in New York. They were interested in compulsory education, the principal present demand of the Social-Democratic element, "the intelligents" of Russia.

On landing at Libau, a Russian friend escorted me to the principal attraction of the city, an immense beer garden on the water front. The ticket of admission required a revenue stamp. Such a stamp is required for admission tickets to all amusement enterprises throughout the Empire. The proceeds go to "charity." "If one can afford to go into a beer garden, he can afford to contribute a mite to charity," commented my friend. Passports for foreign travel issued to Russian subjects call for a stamp tax amounting to about five dollars in American money. This goes to "charity." Again I was told, "If a Russian can afford to travel, he can afford to contribute well to charity." On shipboard, I was cautioned to throw overboard my playing cards, if I had any. "Only playing cards manufactured by our charity establishment are permitted to be sold or introduced into Russia," I was informed. The numerous barefooted women and children around the streets of Libau, running in and out of the liquor shops, indicated whence came the need for at least a part of this revenue collected everywhere for "charity."

I noticed among Russians the common practice of always providing themselves with kopeks* when they go out on the streets. These they toss to beg-

*A rouble amounts to about fifty cents in American money. One hundred kopeks make one rouble. In some places, begging is an established "industry" and is licensed the same as street peddlers. Comparatively few beggars are to be found in Petrograd, but they swarm the streets of Moscow and many other cities.



NICHOLAS II. AND HIS FAMILY

THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN ON THE THREE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RULE OF THE ROMANOV DYNASTY

BACK ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT—GRAND DUCHESS MARIE, GRAND DUCHESS OLGA AND GRAND DUCHESS TITANIA. CENTER ROW—THE TSARINA AND THE TSAR, AND GRAND DUCHESS ANASTASIA. FRONT ROW—THE TSAREVICH, GRAND DUKE MICHAEL ALEXIS, HEIR TO THE RUSSIAN THRONE.

gars, who appear everywhere and who make their rendezvous in the *traktirs,* the licensed dramshops of the lower class. "We know that most of these beggars will spend their money for drink. It is too bad, but some may be really hungry, and who can tell which one?" So it was explained. During the two days that I was with my Russian friend, in Libau and Riga, he would encourage my giving to "charity," but would not permit me to pay for anything else. "You are in Russia and pay nothing while you are with me," he would insist. The beggar is the walking advertisement of what vodka* has been or has done to the Russian people.

Russia leads the world in its ratio of births, marriages and deaths. Of every 1,000 people, 266.9 die before they are one year old.† Five hundred and eighty-two die before they are five years old, and six hundred and twenty-nine die before they are ten years of age. When a child comes into the world, the chances are three to one that he will not live to be ten years old. Vodka is recognized as being largely responsible for this frightful record.

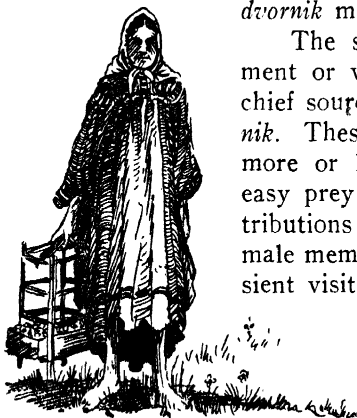
Another important factor, more or less interwoven with drink practices, is the many loose customs of Russian social life. The mujik‡ of the villages know little or nothing of home life as it exists

**Voda* is the Slavonic word for "water." *Vodka* is a derivative difficult to express in English. It carries with it both a diminutive and a sinister meaning. "Little water" spoken contemptuously is an approach to the meaning of the word.

†Kennard; *Russian Year Book for 1914,* p. 611.

‡Mujik is an insulting diminutive of the Slav word mujh, which means "man." Mujik is equivalent to "little man," spoken contemptuously.

in America. Marriages are contracted, for the most part, for other reasons than love. The young people grow up with no very well-defined convictions as to chastity. The servant girl class in the cities is recruited from the villages. The city is largely made up of great apartment houses built around a court which has a single entrance; the establishment is managed locally by the *dvornik* (janitor) and, in case of a large establishment, there is a *starshiy dvornik* (head janitor). This dignitary is the agent of the landlord in renting the apartments and in collecting the rent. He is also the agent of the police in their system of espionage, reporting all who come and go. Daily reports are made to the police as well as to the landlord. He is held responsible by both. The policeman depends on the *dvornik* and the *dvornik* depends on the policeman. As a rule, the *dvornik* gets no pay for his services. He is left to graft off the tenants and the visitors as best he can. The tenants are usually quite liberal, especially if they are engaged in a doubtful occupation, because trouble with the *dvornik* means trouble with the police.



The servant girls of the establishment or various establishments are the chief source of information for the *dvornik*. These girls, ignorant, handsome, of more or less loose habits, become the easy prey of the *dvornik*. Vicious contributions to the situation are added by male members of the family and by transient visitors, but, for convenience sake, most of the trouble is laid onto the *dvornik*. He becomes the social goat.

Thus there come into the

world veritable swarms of fatherless children. Very little is thought of it and nothing else is expected of these servant girls from the villages. The baby is taken to the nearest foundling hospital to be taken care of by public charity. The girl goes back to her work and the same thing happens again the following year.

Out of this social warp and woof, there has grown up the Russian *priyut,* the charity system that, like everything else in Russia, is of Brobdignagian proportions. Babies must be cared for in the foundling hospitals, they must be educated in some institution, and all this is done on a wholesale scale. The largest of these foundling hospitals is in Moscow, where, in one single institution, from 15,000 to 20,000 babies are cared for each year and some 900 nurses are employed. Within three blocks of the Winter Palace is a gigantic foundling hospital covering nearly a whole city block of ground. For the most part, the nurses are recruited from the girl victims of the rotten social system.

Out of this situation has grown up what is known as the "Institutions of the Empress Marie,"* a gigantic charitable trust the like of which the world has never seen before. It exists by virtue of no statute or law, yet its annual budget is passed on and approved by the Tsar himself. It renders no public account of its receipts or expenditures. While the public is taxed for its support, its fiscal operations are kept secret. Its revenues are further augmented by bequests, donations, and from the practical sale of decorations and honors.

It is fitting that this remarkable system of chari-

*In Russian government circles, the "institutions" of the Empress Marie are technically known as "Section IV."

ties should be officially called the "Institutions of the Empress Marie," in memory of one of the most pathetic figures in Russian history. Empress Marie Feodorovna was the great, great grandmother of Nicholas II. and is affectionately called the "Mother of the Tsars." She lived through the reigns of three Tsars, those of her husband and two of her sons. Princess Dorothea Sophia, of Wurtemberg, who, on her marriage to Grand Duke (afterwards Tsar) Paul, was received into the Greek church as Marie Feodorovna. Paul ruled for five years, ending with his assassination on the night of March 23, 1801. He was a man of low mentality, wallowing in secret vices, of violent temper and eccentric unto madness. He took the first step looking to relieving the condition of the serfs by decreeing that they need not work for their masters more than three days each week. He reduced taxes, and that is about all there is to his credit. He was strangled in his room adjoining that of his sleeping wife, by his own officers, and within a few hours many of the houses of Petrograd were illuminated for joy.* But the noble wife who survived him became, through her womanly virtues, one of the bright spots in Russian history.

These institutions were originally begun by Empress Marie in 1796, when she became the head of the original charitable educational society. In 1828, the

*Paul equipped his army with show buckles and pigtail wigs. His face was so ugly that he refused to have his own portrait on the coins, as had been the custom, thus initiating the present plan of using the double-headed eagle instead. People were compelled to kneel in the mud as he passed. He hated round hats and gave orders to the policemen to knock off every hat of that sort that they saw. He was constantly issuing ukases about the style of clothes. His assassination has been justified on patriotic grounds.

management of the concern passed into the hands of Section IV. of the Private Chancellory of His Imperial Majesty. The present head of the institution is Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, mother of the present Tsar. It was she who established, some years ago, a series of schools for girls known as the *Mariinskiya Gymnasii*, which schools form a part of the system named in honor of the "Mother of the Tsars."

Another extensive source of revenue for these institutions is the monopoly on playing cards. The institution owns a factory where the playing cards are made, and no playing cards are allowed in the Russian Empire that are not manufactured by this concern. The administration offices of this concern are at No. 7 Kasanskaia, Petrograd, and occupy quarters as large as the whole Interior Department in Washington.

As indicating the character of the institutions into which the children are placed when they come out of the foundling hospitals, the following is a list of concerns of the institution which are covered into what is called the Petrograd Educational Establishment:

The Asylum of Grand Duke Alexander Nikolaievitch, for 160 extern children, with an orphan asylum for 100 girls.

The Asylum of Holy Andrew, for 145 extern children, with orphan asylum for 40 girls.

The Asylum of Nikolaievsky, for 55 extern children, with orphan asylum for 35 girls, 30 little girls and a nursery school for 15 pupils.

The Church of the Holy Methodius, for 50 intern girls.

The Gromovsky of the Holy Sergei, for 110 extern girls, with orphan asylum for 90 boys.

The Asylum in memory of the Tsarevitch Nikolai Alexandrovitch, for 160 extern children.

The Asylum in memory of Mary, Catherine and George, for 150 extern children.

The Asylum of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaievna, for 35 intern girls.

The Asylum of Alexander-Mariinsky Ivan Basilevsky, for 130 extern children.

The Asylum in memory of the 19th of February, 1861, for 40 intern girls.

The Asylum of Alexandrinsky, for 150 extern children.

The Orphan Asylum of the Grand Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna, for 40 intern girls.

The Asylum of Elizabeth and Mary, for 160 extern children.

The Asylum of the Duchess' Beloselsky-Belosserbsky, for 25 little intern boys.

The Asylum of Lavalsky, for 115 extern children.

The Asylum of Baron Frederix, for extern children of the attendants of the Petrograd Widow-House, with orphan asylum for 30 intern girls.

The Asylum in memory of F. P. Rodokanaki, for 150 extern children.

The Asylum in memory of the Tsarevitch George Alexandrovitch, for 40 intern boys.

The Asylum of Alexander Nevsky, for 75 intern boys.

The Asylum Ochtensky, for 150 extern children, with orphan asylum for 30 girls.

The Asylum of Nikolai, Olga and Elisabeth Adamovitch, for 90 extern children, with orphan asylum for 40 boys.

The Asylum of Petergovsky, for 90 extern children.

The Asylum Udelny (in summer) for 40 children.

Besides these, there are many schools for girls in many parts of Russia under the control of the Educational Establishment.

While no public reports are made of the expenditures under this "trust," and its financial affairs are kept secret, yet, by some intrigue, the payment of some graft and a promise to not use the figures anywhere "in Russia," I was able to secure copies of the official estimates for the two years 1912-1913. On the back of each, the Tsar had written in his own hand, "Let this be carried out."

DETAILED SECRET BALANCE SHEET SHOWING THE ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURES OF THE "INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARIE" FOR THE YEARS 1912 AND 1913.

Expenses:	Provided: According to Estimates 1912	1913
Ordinary expenses.		
(1) Central administration and control	$ 584,113.00	$ 584,701.00
(2) Maintenance of churches of all schools	24,527.00	26,161.00
(3) Maintenance of educational institutions	2,651,225.00	3,000,001.00
(4) Maintenance of schools	7,785,758.58	7,900,864.58
(5) Maintenance of hospitals and asylums	2,072,359.00	2,140,585.00
(6) Repairs of buildings and new buildings	831,909.00	901,335.00
(7) Pensions and yearly relief	1,619,300.00	1,619,023.00
(8) Subsidies to institutions, operations of which are not included in the estimates of scholarships in these institutions, gratifications, relief, traveling expenses and other special and small expenses	936,062.00	941,497.00
(9) Payment of capital debts	39,236.28	113,271.23
(10) Sums, having to be added to capitals and deposits	192,274.88	216,772.49
(11) Expenses on leaseholds	307,420.00	350,505.00
(12) Expenses on manufacturing and sales of cards	1,144,426.00	1,082,092.00
(13) Expenses from tax on public plays and amusements	405,000.00	485,000.00
(14) At the disposal of the trusteeship not anticipated by the estimates and for pressing needs in the course of the year	868,000.00	865,000.00
Total	$19,461,610.74	$20,226,808.35

General Manager (Signed) Prince Andrew Livin.

The tragedy of childhood has been written large over every vodka shop in the Empire. It is an appalling fact that, during the year 1911, 155 children in the public schools committed suicide.

In Russia, it is not customary for a doctor to send a bill or make any specific charge for his services except in case of surgical operations. What is paid is regarded as a "free will offering." The national charity idea is highly developed in the medical practice. In 1910 there were 7,682 hospitals in Russia, with 201,868 beds. They were attended by 19,414 male and 1,590 women doctors. The following table shows growth of the hospitals:*

Year	No. Beds	Persons Treated
1891	108,325	1,192,199
1901	136,516	1,696,885
1911	210,473	3,122,879

There are 250,000 blind people in Russia who are cared for at a cost to the nation of 60,000,000 roubles. Two days are set apart in May of each year, called "camomile days," in which white camomile flowers are sold all over the Empire, the proceeds going to the expenses of the campaign against consumption. Large sums are collected in this way. In Odessa alone, in 1913, the proceeds amounted to $20,000.

At the opening of the European war in 1914, a "Supreme Council" was created to take over the management of the Red Cross and other charity work connected with military operations. This work is temporary and wholly distinct from the operations of "Section IV." The "Council" operates under the presidency of Empress Alexandra, wife of the present Tsar.

*Kennard; *Russian Year Book for 1914*, p. 610.

ВЪ ПАМЯТЬ 300-ЛѢТІЯ ЦАРСТВОВАНІЯ ДОМА РОМАНОВЫХЪ

Хронологическое перечисленіе Державныхъ Вождей Русскаго народа, заботъ Ихъ и выдающихся событій на благо Родины-Россіи.

Его Императорское Величество Государь Императоръ

НИКОЛАЙ II-й

Рисовалъ перомъ
А. К. Смолинковъ.

PORTRAIT OF TSAR NICHOLAS II. DONE IN RUSSIAN TYPE IN WHICH ARE RECORDED THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF SLAVIC HISTORY.

Recent social legislation of a high order indicates, eloquently, the natural philanthropic nature of the people. Excellent child labor laws have been enacted. Children under 12 years of age cannot be employed as laborers, and their labor is restricted until the age of 15. A good workman's compensation act was passed on June 2, 1903. A bill which passed the Duma in May, 1912, (approved in June) provides for compulsory workman's insurance. On October 1, 1913, there were 1,594 sick clubs under the act, with a membership of 1,176,564. All works employing over twenty hands where motive power is used and all works of other kinds employing thirty hands are subject to the law. The government has organized thirteen regional insurance companies to take care of the business arising under this law. Factories are inspected by government officials. Co-operative societies are encouraged by law, government establishments are instituted for the encouragement and sale of peasant industries, and practically every attempt at social improvement to be found in America has its counterpart in Russia.

Russians are more broadly human, probably, than any other race of people. While poverty is apparent everywhere, starvation is unknown among peasants when there is food for anybody. When there is no famine in the land, it would be difficult for anybody to starve in Russia, for he can beg successfully almost anywhere.* That is a beautiful custom the *mujik* has of leaving a piece of bread on the outer window sill of his house at night for some hungry one who might come along. Human sympathy and apparent human brutality are everywhere. The Rus-

*Famines are common in Russia and then there is plenty of starvation. Some of the descriptions of famines by Tolstoi and Korolenko are illuminating and distressing.

sian will nurse a stricken stranger with the tenderness of a woman and brutally annihilate a robber as though he were vermin. It is the untrammeled, unrestrained impulse of the animal called man. On the one hand is the greatest demonstration of charitable undertakings that the world has ever seen; on the other hand is the ferocious treatment of prisoners and the bloody pogroms against the Jews. Who can fathom this thing called "man?"



CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE AND FALL OF SERFDOM



THE early Varanger chiefs who came from *Rus* to become the hired princes of the Slavic political entities brought with them fighting men, *druzhiny* (companions), as assistants. Like the princes themselves, these intermarried with the natives and became Russianized. These "boyars," as they were named, formed a fighting and eventually a land-holding class. They had the right of migration and served any prince whom they chose, going from one to another. While they "held" allotments of land, they did not own them; they held the land in return for service tó the prince. Even the prince would, at times, move on from one principality to another; in which case his boyars would accompany him, disband or enter the service of some other prince. The prince, aided by his boyars, defended the people. The farmer worked the land that he might sustain his boyar and the boyar shared the rental with the prince. Allotments of land were held subject to the wishes of the boyar. The boyar, in turn, held it subject to the wishes of the prince, and the prince held it all subject to the wishes of the *veche,* the assembly of burghers. Land, unless worked, was worthless, hence the value was considered to lie in the labor expended on the land rather than in the land itself. Everybody was

free, the laborer, the boyar and the prince. The only exception was the slaves captured in war, and these belonged to the prince. Gradually, however, there came into being a class of personal fighting retainers of the prince who had no landed holdings, and who worked or fought merely for hire.

By this process, there grew up a society, apart from the slaves who had no rights at all, a free population divided into (1) the "men of service" and (2) the villeins or farmers. The former class was divided into (1) the boyars who had landed holdings, and (2) the free fighting men who had no such holdings. The villein had the right to transfer his allegiance from one boyar to another and even from one prince to another. In each case, he maintained his rights over the land which he held, provided he worked. In such a case, jurisdiction over the land went with the villein from one boyar to another and even went with him from one prince to another. That did not mean that he "owned" the land; nobody owned land in the modern sense. The villein merely held for the time being the right to cultivate the land. If a boyar objected to one of his villeins transferring his allegiance to another, that was a matter to be fought out or to be adjusted mutually between him and the worker and between him and the boyar to whom the villein went. In case a villein transferred his allegiance to another prince the first prince had no recourse except to go to war with the second prince, and he could not do this without the support of his own *veche*. As the matter stood at this period of social development, the villein had rather the best end of the situation. At any time that it saw fit, the *veche*, made up of the villeins, could dismiss its prince and employ another. Dismissal of the prince carried with it the

dismissal of the boyars. The question arises, why did the villein or the burghers voluntarily submit to paying tribute or rental to the boyar and to the prince above him when they had it in their power to dismiss them both? The reason lies in the fact that without the prince and his retainers, the burghers would have no protection. They would fall a prey to robbers or perhaps to some stronger, more exacting and distant prince who had secured complete control over his burghers. The situation was further complicated by the development of free communes, free primitive corporations who held their communal land in common and elected delegates or representatives to the court of the prince. Thus eventually there appeared three sets of buyers in the labor market, the boyars, the prince and the free communes; and naturally chaos increased as the demand for labor increased.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, new influences came into being. As explained in Chapter I., the aggression of the Lithuanian princes on the west and the oppression of the Tartar hordes on the east welded together these independent principalities under a "grand prince," and these "grand princes," in turn, were swallowed up by the "grand prince" of Moscow, who developed into a Tsar. These aggressions, from time to time, compelled the prince to increase the number of his armed men, which, in turn, multiplied his financial burdens, till at length, in the fifteenth century, this problem led to the introduction of the *Pomiestie* (manor). The fighting men were scattered about on frontier tracts of land, chiefly to the east, each being given, as a holding, a tract of land. Thus a living barrier was placed between Moscow and her Tartar enemies. The fighting man held his land as long as he continued to serve, and he

served as long as he continued to hold the land. The tenure of the manor was considered a little more temporary than the hereditary holding, but even the hereditary holding did not carry with it the ownership of the land. In return for the use of the land, the burgher or villein worked a certain number of days for the free servant or the landlord.

Herein lay the weakness of the situation, a weakness that became more apparent as outside dangers increased. As long as the boyar had no actual control over the villein and as long as the prince had no actual control over the boyar, the entity, in time of danger, was but a rope of sand. As long as the villein could not always be depended on to serve the boyar, the boyar could not be relied upon to serve the prince; the boyar could not fight unless he was fed and there was none to provide his upkeep except the villein.

Attempts were made to remedy this situation by multiplying the difficulties of villein migration. The prince desired to have as many inhabitants as possible because the revenues depended upon the population; and, for the same reason, the landed proprietor desired to have as many as possible to till his lands. The free communes desired as many members as possible because taxes came to be levied on the commune as a whole and each member relieved every other member by assuming a part of the burden. The prince, the landlord and the communes, therefore, did all in their power to prevent migrations. This was accomplished partly by law, but more frequently by sheer force. The villein was not allowed to leave as long as he was in debt to his landlord, which was generally the case, for the burgher, like the *mujik* of today, was not overcautious about getting into debt. The communes would refuse to allow a member to

leave unless someone was provided to take his place. The grand prince of Moscow aided in preventing migrations. Formerly, when the princes were independent, it was an easy matter for the farmer to go from one prince to another; but when all were under the jurisdiction of the grand prince, it was not so easy.

It was not until 1597, during the reign of Boris Godunov, the usurper of the throne and the last Tsar of the Rurik dynasty, that the fatal step was taken that marked the beginning of serfdom. In that year, Boris enacted a law providing that if a tenant left his holding on any except St. George's day, the proprietor could compel him to return at any time within five years. In 1649, when the laws respecting the peasant were codified in the *Ulozhenie,* the five-year limit and the provisions about leaving on St. George's day were abolished, and it was enacted that nobody had a right to receive a tenant who had abandoned another landlord without the latter's permission. In theory, certain obligations were laid upon the landlord. He could not divorce the tenant from his land, and he must provide him with land and implements. While the tenant had only the loan of the livestock, the landlord could not take it away from him by force, and although he could still appear before the courts as a free man and retained all of his civil rights except that of changing his domicile, these rights, in the working out, became more and more visionary.*

There is no evidence whatever that it was the intention, either of Boris Godunov or of the framers of

*The leading authority for the early history of the peasantry of Russia is M. Belaef. His *Krestyane na Rusi* was published in Moscow in 1860. For English readers, good chapters are devoted to this subject by Wallace, in his *Russia,* and by Baring in his *Russian People.* See also Kennard's *Russian Peasant.*

the *Ulozhenie** to create a system of personal slavery. There are yet plenty of people in Russia, particularly among the Slavophiles of Moscow, who will strenuously deny that personal slavery ever existed in Russia except as to captives taken in war. It was undoubtedly the intention to fasten the tenant to the land only, and thus to remedy a condition that had become a recognized evil. It was purposed for the mutual advantage of both classes and to solve temporarily a pressing economic problem. What it actually accomplished was the personal enslavement of the whole peasantry of Russia for two hundred years.

When two men are chained together, it is inevitable that the weaker shall become more or less the prey of the stronger. The landlords began systematically to levy fines upon their tenants and to collect such fines by flogging. From this it was but a step to actually selling peasants without the land. At first, this was wholly without legal authority, but at length the right to sell one's peasants without the land was formally recognized by law.†

There still remained some distinction between the tenants and the slaves on the one hand and the "free wandering people" on the other. Then came Peter the Great with his numerous public enterprises requiring enormous amounts of money, and new schemes of taxation. He caused a census to be taken in which slaves, domestic servants, peasants and agricultural laborers were all included in one classification. He levied a poll tax on each and, to simplify the collection of the tax, he made the landlord responsible for

*This codification took place under the reign of Alexis, the second Tsar of the Romanov dynasty, and who was the first Tsar who undertook to cope with the evils of liquor.

†See ukase of October 13, 1765, and that of June 27, 1682.



CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION, PETROGRAD

BUILT AT A COST OF 23,000,000 ROUBLES OVER THE SPOT WHERE ALEXANDER II. WAS MURDERED. THE HOLE MADE BY THE DYNAMITE BOMB IS LEFT AS IT WAS IN THE BODY OF THE CHURCH, COVERED BY A CANOPY SUPPORTED BY JASPER PILLARS. ON THE WALLS ARE NEARLY A MILE SQUARE OF MOSAIC PICTURES. THE ENTIRE INTERIOR, INCLUDING FLOORS, IS OF MOSAIC.



RUSSIAN PLAYING CARDS

it all. Then all the "free wandering people" were required to either enlist in the army or enroll themselves as serfs to some proprietor, or as members of some commune. Those who failed to obey were classified as "vagrants" and sent to the galleys. There was then no longer room in Russia for free men outside of the landlord and official classes. Even these were not wholly free. All were a part of a great social machine in the service of the state. In theory, everyone, male and female, must serve the state in some manner.

The unrestrained brutality of the Slav inflicted upon the serfs such hardship and oppression that they fled by the thousands to enlist in the army. Peter thereupon came to the relief of the landlords, forbidding the serfs to enlist without the consent of their masters, under penalty of being beaten by the knout and sent to the mines.* The landlords received the right to transport unruly serfs to Siberia for life. During the reign of Catherine II., the climax of serfage was reached. The serfs were declared by law to be a part of the master's immovable property,† a part of the working capital of the state. As such, they could be bought and sold and given as presents. They could not even marry without the consent of the overlord. The only legal restrictions in their favor were that they must not be offered for sale at public auction or during times of conscripton. In all other respects, serfs were treated precisely as private property. Then and there was established the custom—a custom which continued down to 1861—of computing

*Ukase of June 2, 1794; ukase of Jan. 17, 1765, and ukase of Jan. 28, 1766.

†Ukase of Oct. 7, 1792.

a noble's fortune by the number of his serfs, rather than by the number of his acres or by his income. He was worth so many thousands of "souls." In order to keep the vast horde of serfs in subjection, they were forbidden to make any complaints under penalty of being beaten with the knout and sent to the mines.* The frightful abuses heaped upon the serfs have not been ignored by the Russians themselves, and much has been written on the subject in the Russian language. Some of these outrages described are of the most horrible character.

In theory, there was some justification for serfdom in the argument that obligatory service was imposed upon all. The serfs served the nobles in order that the nobles might serve the Tsar. What there was in this theory, however, was wholly overturned by Peter III., in 1762, when he issued a manifesto abolishing the obligatory service of the nobles. But so completely had the original meaning of serfage been obliterated that no one thought of carrying out the logical consequences of the manifesto as to the serfs. The serfs remained in chains. The last points of difference between the legal status of the serf and that of slaves captured in war had long since been obliterated. All were slaves in the fullest sense of the word. Even the masters did not become free in fact under the edict of Peter. Under Catherine the Great, the gentry became more servile than ever. The great Suvorov showed his genius by devising new ways of groveling.†

All moral sense withered under such a pressure. Thus soil was prepared for the development of those

*Ukases of August 22, 1767, and March 30, 1781.

†Pares; *Russia and Reform*, p. 119.

Nihilist ideas that would dynamite into atoms every existing thing without knowing or caring what is to be put in its place. It is inconceivable that such a strained and artificial state of society could long endure, especially at a period when the beacon lights of human liberty were being lighted at so many points throughout the civilized world. During the reign of Catherine II. (1768-96) the subject of emancipation was informally considered by the Empress. She discussed it with Voltaire, to whom she had taken a fancy and with whom she carried on a personal correspondence. The question was also raised with her by Bearde l'Abaye Marmontel and by the Society of Political Economy of Petrograd. But, instead of taking any steps in the direction of liberation, Catherine went to the limit of reaction, stripping the serfs of the last remnant of their rights and, in 1788, extending the system of bondage to the soil to the peasants of *Malo* (little) Russia and to the Ukraine, the present government of Kharkov. She did, however, severely punish certain masters for cruelty to serfs, but she took no steps whatever looking to improving their



political condition. It remained for Paul (1796-1801), who is generally regarded as being crazy, to take the first steps of any sort looking to the amelioration of the condition of the serfs. This took the form of a requirement that they need work for their masters only three days out of the week. This, if a way had been provided to effectively carry it out, would have dealt the system a blow in a vital part, but there was no one to enforce its provisions.

Alexander I. and also his famous Prime Minister, Speranski (1801-25) were heartily in favor of emancipation of the serfs, and they had the ability to make progress in the reform. But even an autocrat is obliged to consider public sentiment and, in such a mighty undertaking, the subject had to be approached by degrees. Two years after Alexander's accession to the throne, a beginning was made by giving to landlords the power to liberate their serfs; and, shortly afterwards, 47,000 were set free, enfranchised and made a separate class. In 1819, the serfs in the three Baltic provinces were liberated on condition that they relinquish to their masters what little rights they had to their land.*

Nicholas I. (1825-55), like his father, was friendly to the emancipation idea. Many of the nobility were also friendly to the plan. While it is true that Nicholas I. was an obstinate reactionary, yet one of his enemies, Prince Dolgoruki, gives him this testimony.†

*The emancipation idea was promoted by the Petrograd Society of Political Economy. In 1812, the Society offered a reward of $1,000 for the best essay on the advantages of free and servile labor. As long as the Tsar was favorable to emancipation, the Society was free to promote the idea without fear of interference.

†Quoted by Rambaud, Vol. III., p. 221.

"However hostile he may have been to the doctrine of liberty, we must do him the justice to say that he never ceased through his whole life to cherish the idea of emancipating the serfs." Many of the troubles of Speranski came about through his schemes looking to emancipation. The nobles of Petrograd, Tula, Dunaberg and Riazan even petitioned Nicholas to form local committees to draft an emancipation scheme. Under the curious system of land tenure that had grown up and under the more liberal treatment of serfs since Catherine II., the serfs came to believe that they had certain legal rights to their holdings and were adverse to any changes that would lessen the little hold that they had upon the land. Besides this, the government conceived the idea that the state should not consent to any scheme that would uproot the serf from his holdings and allow the liberated one to wander about at will. Such a move, it was believed, would render impossible the collection of taxes and lead to disorder besides. It was also felt that to place severe restrictions upon the movements of the liberated ones would result in leaving him still more in the power of the landlord. And to give the land to the peasants would seem to take it away from the proprietors, depriving them of certain vested rights. As a matter of fact, land tenure did not carry with it any clear idea of ownership on the part of anybody. In theory, it was held by permission of the Tsar in return for some service rendered the state. Seeing no way out of the dilemma, Nicholas contented himself with making two important improvements in the condition of the serfs. He established in each manor an "inventory" in which a record was made of payments by serfs to the masters, so that they could be protected from extortion. He also made

the serf a sort of a perpetual tenant of the land. The latter step was far-reaching in that it greatly reduced the power of the landlord over the villein.

The real work of emancipation was left as a legacy to Alexander II. (1855-81.) He entered heartily into the project, but was convinced that it was necessary to have the support and co-operation of the nobles. In March, 1856, about a year after his accession, he received the nobles of Moscow and made to them the following speech:

"I have heard, gentlemen, that rumors have been current among you with regard to my intention of abolishing the bondage of the peasant. In order to refute various statements which are devoid of foundation, on so important a subject, I consider it necessary to declare to you that I have no intention of doing this now. But you naturally are yourselves aware that the existing method of owning souls cannot remain unchanged. It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it will be abolished by a movement from below. I ask you, gentlemen, to consider how this can be best carried out."*

During the next five years, the question of emancipation was the dominant one in Russian politics; no less than six committees were formed, under the direction of Alexander, to consider the problem. The first committees were disposed to do nothing radical, but were reorganized by the Tsar, who became discontented with their policy of inaction. The newspapers were almost unanimous in favor of emancipation, but they advocated endowing the peasant with the land. This alarmed the nobility, who came to favor emancipation also, but disagreed as to how it should be carried out. Most of them insisted that the nobility should have the ownership of all the land, which principle had already been half-way recognized

*I have used the translation given by Baring in his *Russian People.*

by the government, but that the serfs should have the right to buy their homesteads.

Through five years of effort in reconciling the tangle of differences, Alexander, aggressively assisted by Grand Duke Constantine, who acted as president of the principal or general committee, pressed for a conclusion. The Tsar was determined upon emancipation, but sought to compel the nobles to agree upon an equitable basis of carrying out the project. When the various committees, including the "drafting committee," turned in their final reports, the general committee held forty sessions, each lasting from six to seven hours, debating the matter. The last session of the committee took place on January 26, 1861, under the personal presidency of the Emperor. Two days later, the decision of the committee was considered by the Council of State. On February 19, the act of emancipation was signed by Alexander. On March 2 it was ratified by the Senate, and on March 5 it was read out after mass in the churches of Petrograd.*

What remained of personal bondage to the master was wiped out, but this was not regarded as of the greatest importance either by the serfs or by the landlord. The real problem settled was the tenure of the land, along with which went the liberties of the peasants. Approximately 350,964,187 acres, practically one-half of all the land of Russia, passed from the control of the landlords and was placed in the hands

*For fuller information regarding serfdom and the emancipation, reference should be made to Seminev's work on the *Emancipation of the Peasants,* Wallace's *Russia,* Maurice Baring's *The Russian People,* and Rambaud's *History of the Russian People.* Periodical literature is rich in articles on the subject, but much of it is written from an exparte standpoint and more or less inaccurate.

of the peasants in perpetuity. The government paid the landlords in cash for the land, and the peasants were given fifty years in which to reimburse the government, paying 6 per cent interest on the deferred payments. The peasants were to own the land in common, and the whole community was made responsible for each peasant's payments. Each peasant, however, had the right to buy himself out of the community life by paying in one installment the amount necessary to redeem his holding. Thus the whole social system was placed on a new basis. The new order of things made a new administrative step necessary. A large measure of self-government was accordingly given the serfs. The *mir* or village was made a self-governing entity and the *volost* or canton, in which twenty or thirty villages were often included, was revived as an administrative unit, and, on this new basis, Russian administration was reorganized into the governmental system described in Chapter II. of this book.

"Let there be light. And there was light," is the way we read of the Creation in Genesis. In theory, the Tsar, as an autocrat, has the same completeness of absolute power as to matters of government. In reality he has no such power. He is compelled to recognize the public sentiment of his subjects and can go no farther than that public sentiment will permit. Since the days of Catherine the Great, there has not been a Tsar of Russia who was not sympathetic to the liberation idea. The first steps looking to that end were taken by the lunatic Paul, and each Tsar up to Alexander II. added his contribution to the project. It required fifty years of persistent effort on the part of the autocratic power to accomplish this freedom of the Russian people. There had to be overcome the

stupidity of the serfs and the selfishness of the landlords. Had it been a plain question of the personal servitude of the peasants, they would doubtless have been freed a quarter of a century earlier, but the far-reaching complications of land tenure constituted the factor of trouble. It is one of the mockeries of history that Alexander II., who finally secured the freedom of the serfs, who conferred upon them a very large measure of self government, was blown to pieces by a dynamite bomb in 1881. In the opinion of many, the reaction that followed was a natural one, and the clock of progress was set back in Russia fully twenty-five years. The hand that threw the bomb under the carriage of Alexander visited upon the Russian people two decades of trouble and sorrow.

Russian history is ghastly with stories of the severity of her punishments for crime, but these punishments were largely for offenses against property. Criminal offenses against the person were not regarded as important. The system of private revenge was more or less recognized. In early times, frightful tortures were in vogue. But this was a period when the same tortures were prevalent all over Europe. Even the clergy inflicted punishment upon the priests. In 1748, the Bishop of Vologda decreed "cruel corporal punishment" against priests who wore coarse, ragged clothes. The world is familiar with the tragedies of the convict system of Siberia, but the convict systems of England and America have a record widely inconsistent with humane methods. There has been great progress in humane methods in the convict systems of both Russia and the United States during the past twenty years.

It is not generally known, however, that Russia is far in advance of America in the matter of capital

punishment. Elizabeth abolished the death penalty in 1744, and it has never been revived except for military purposes and in cases of attempts on the life of the royal family. The killings of the "revolution" of 1905 were regarded as military measures.

From the beginning, the "intelligents" of Russia have fought against all forms of corporal punishment as being against the "dignity of the human person." The knout has always been the favorite method of punishment and applied for nearly every offense from murder down to neglect to pay one's taxes. The abolition of corporal punishment was one of the reforms carried out by Alexander II. and accomplished in 1863. But while the government abolished corporal punishment the people did not. A system of "local option" exists as to flogging. Volosts and cantons are at liberty to use that method in their self-government if they wish to do so, and it still quite generally exists. Too much censure, therefore, should not be visited upon the Russian government on account of the knout, since it long since abolished the barbarous practice, only to have it retained by the people themselves.



CHAPTER V.

THE STORY OF FINLAND



IN the runos of Kalevala, the poetical creation of the Finnish people, which Max Muller calls the "fifth great epic of the world," we read of the great smith, Ilmarinen, and of his wedding to the Rainbow Maiden. As a condition to the wedding, the Mistress of Pohjola had imposed supposedly impossible tasks, such as catching a huge pike from the river of the Region of Death, plowing a field of vipers, etc. But he succeeded because the Rainbow Maiden, who really loved him, and who possessed supernatural powers, always came to his aid.

A great ox was slaughtered for the wedding feast. It was so large that it took a swallow all day to fly from tip to tip of its horns. A house of corresponding size was built, and Louhi herself undertook to provide the beer for the nuptial feast. The beer was brewed by Ostomar the "ale constructor," and, in song and drink, the marriage was consummated. From legendary times, drink comes down to the historical and thence to the present-day people of Finland. And yet the Finns are now the most sober people in Europe, if not in Christendom.

The warmest friends of the Finns are those who

know them best—those who have penetrated the shell of their inner life. Travelers who rush through the country looking out the car windows and seeing the Swedish signs on buildings everywhere, leap to the conclusion that the Finns are allied in language and blood to the Scandinavians. But a little investigation establishes the fact that the Finn is an Asiatic and that he speaks a language whose noun has sixteen declensions. There is to be found the fickleness, the imagery, the love of myth and folklore, the music, the poetical instinct of the Oriental, combined with the hardened fiber of the snowbound North. "Ixion, coming down from heaven, having banqueted with all the gods, remembered only the patterns of the table cloth," we are told. And just so the average traveler sees the granite walls, the quaint log houses, inspects the "Finnish bath," wonders at the great gray walls of Sveaborg, listens to the roar of Imatra, but wholly fails to penetrate the inner soul of these remarkable people.

For thousands of years, the Finnish people have been a subject people, driven from place to place before the morning of history, often in a condition bordering on serfdom, always the vassals of an overlord, and yet they emerge from it all the soberest, the best educated, the most democratic people in Europe, if not in the world. Like the American Indian, they were driven from place to place. They were crowded out of Asia and driven up the valley of the Volga until they settled in the bleak regions of the frozen North. There they have remained so long that, with the Laplanders and Esthonians, they have been mistaken for the aborigines of Northern Russia. For at least a thousand years these people have lived in the territory they now occupy.

Because fragments of Finnish speech are found in nearly every language of Europe, ethnologists have constructed all sorts of theories as to the origin of these people, but an easy and probably accurate explanation of this is the remarkable antiquity of the race and their constant contact with other medieval tribes. Owing to their geographical location, the Laplanders and Esthonians have never been seriously disturbed by foreign people and have been left to work out their own salvation. And it is probably for this very reason that these people have made comparatively little progress in human affairs. The Finnish people, located on the battleground between the Scandinavians and the Slav, have been overrun and oppressed as well as protected by both.

The Finnish woman is good looking but not beautiful, plain but not ugly; intellectual but very human. She walks with a peculiar deliberate step, jabbing her heel into the sidewalk in a way that spells "determination" in any language. She swings her arms with the precision of one who means business. She is a veritable reproduction of the popular conception of Portia in the Merchant of Venice. She is feminine but not ethereal, strong but not masculine. Such women breed strong men—Finnish men. They were given the elective franchise in 1906 and immediately made use of it in Finnish fashion. Some twenty were elected to seats in the Finnish Parliament. The majority of the employees of the banks are women and they appear side by side with the men in most of the walks of life. It was a woman who founded the first really successful temperance society in Finland thirty years ago.

While the Finnish people cling to Finnish things

with most unyielding tenacity, they show an astonishing readiness to adopt progressive ideas. They own most of the public utilities; their laws are of the most advanced type. The railway station agent is also the postmaster, the custodian of the postal savings bank and the telegraph operator besides.

Finland (*Suomi* or *Suommcnmaa,* in Finnish) is a more or less independent Grand Duchy, bearing about the same relation to Russia as Canada does to Great Britain. The Tsar is the Grand Duke of Finland and the Governor of Finland, an appointee ot the Tsar, is his personal representative. It has its



SELLING MILK AT HELSINGFORS

own postal system, its own coinage, its own tariff system and an independent parliament, whose acts, however, are subject to the veto power of the Tsar, its Grand Duke. People going from Finland into Russia or from Russia into Finland are subject to customs and immigrant regulations just as though coming or going into foreign countries. Tariff or customs dues, also are paid both ways.

Christianity was introduced in 1157, practically the entire population now being adherents of the Lutheran church. King Eric IX. came over from Sweden and both conquered and baptized the people. He was assisted by Henry, Bishop of Upsala, who was afterwards killed and canonized. He became "St. Henry," patron saint of Finland. The country, for nearly 600 years, was under the jurisdiction of Sweden, whose iron rule forced upon the people Swedish laws, Swedish religion and the Swedish language. During all that time the country was frequently overrun by the armies of both Sweden and Russia, the stricken land being the battleground of the wars between the two countries.

In 1716 Peter the Great secured control of the entire country of Finland, and, to emphasize his control and to make secure his hold on the Baltic sea, he built the city of Petrograd.' Charles XII. later recovered a part of the territory, all, in fact, except the province of Viborg. Gustavus III., who began to reign over Sweden in 1771, conferred upon Finland certain "fundamental laws" which the people have succeeded in maintaining ever since. In another war Gustavus IV. attempted to recover Viborg, but he only succeeded in losing all that Sweden had gained in that country. By the peace of 1809, Russia again secured control over the whole of Finland, including

the Aland Islands. But Finland came back under Russian control not as a conquered province, but as a semi-independent Grand Duchy, Tsar Alexander I. recognizing the constitution of the country and making oath to maintain the same. All went well until, under the influence of the "Slavophile" movement, it was proposed to "Russianize" all territory under the Russian flag, the present Tsar issued his celebrated manifesto of February 15, 1899, virtually abrogating the Finnish diet and the Finnish constitution. A military law followed in July, 1901, practically amalgamating the Russian and Finnish forces. The Russian language and Russian officials were forced upon the people. In April, the Russian Governor, General Bobrikov, was invested with dictatorial powers and proceeded to "Russianize" the country, operating with the same tyrannical methods that he had previously used with success in the Lithuanian provinces. A general strike followed and Bobrikov was killed by a young Finn patriot. By the Imperial Manifesto of November 7 the status quo of 1899 was restored. It is one of the mockeries of history that General Bobrikov was appointed on August 30, 1898, exactly six days after the Tsar issued his famous "Peace Manifesto" of August 24 of that year. In 1910, a renewed attempt on the part of Russia was made to curtail Finnish rights, but the Finns have maintained their own fairly well. Some of the issues are still unsettled.

One cannot travel far in Finland without hearing that old jest of a certain Karelian who was so averse to walking through a field of rye for fear of tramping down the grain that he got four men to carry him through. There is an application of this same principle that has never appealed very strongly to the Finnish people. The man who is so afraid of



THE IZBA OR HOME OF A RUSSIAN PEASANT

PEASANT HOMES ARE MADE OF LOGS AND OFTEN BURNED BECAUSE OF THE DRUNKEN CARELESSNESS OF THE INMATES. AN EPIDEMIC OF DRUNKENNESS ATTENDING FEAST DAYS IS ACCOMPANIED BY AN EPIDEMIC OF FIRES. THE ENTIRE FAMILY, WITH THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS, THEIR WIVES, DAUGHTERS AND CHILDREN, ALL LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSE AND HOLD ALL PROPERTY IN COMMON. THE HEAD OF THE HOUSE, USUALLY THE OLDEST OR THE KEENEST IN TRADE, IS CALLED THE BOLSHAK (BIG ONE), OR BOLSHUKHA IN CASE THE "BIG ONE" IS A FEMALE. THE MIR, OR VILLAGE, IS MERELY AN EXAGGERATED FAMILY, WITH THE STAROSTA IN CHARGE AS THE HEAD OF AFFAIRS. EACH MEMBER OF THE FAMILY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMON DEBTS JUST AS EACH FAMILY OF THE MIR IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE VILLAGE. ALL THAT EACH ONE EARNS, WHETHER HE BE AT HOME OR WORKING ABROAD, GOES INTO THE COMMON TREASURY. EVEN THE EARNINGS OF THE ISVISCHIK OR THE DVORNIK IN PETROGRAD, LESS ACTUAL EXPENSES, IS SENT HOME TO THE BOLSHAK OF THE IZBA WHENCE HE CAME.

the ravages of intemperance that he advocates licensing people to sell liquor at a profit to himself has never had much economic standing among the rugged natives of that rugged country.

The beginnings of the temperance reform in Finland were contemporary with those of America. In 1816 and again in 1819, the Finnish Home Society offered prizes for essays against distilleries. In 1828, there was published at Abo, in the Swedish language, a tract against drink and, a year later, it was translated and published in Finnish. In 1833, there was published in Petrograd a tract on "The Punishment of Drunkenness." The tract was published in the Finnish language and is supposed to have been a translation from the English by Pastor Henrik Rengwirt, who published other temperance tracts and also circulated a temperance pledge. His propaganda was against indulgence in *brandvin,* a rye or potato spirit, which was the prevailing Finnish intoxicant. In 1846, a temperance society was formed at Jamsa by K. A. Arvelin with an initial membership of seven people, but in a year it had grown to a membership of 300. On December 20, 1846, another temperance society was formed at Jywaskyla by P. Smirnov, and by January, 1847, it had a membership of fifty-three. These movements, inspired and prompted chiefly by Pastor Rengwirt, died out, but were revived again in 1853. Pastor Rengwirt may properly be designated as the pioneer or the founder of the temperance reform in Finland.

The second stage of the reform was initiated and promoted by a woman. In 1847, a Finnish matron, Hilda Helman, formed a little temperance society with a department for the instruction of children. Among the things taught was the homely truth that neither

drinking liquor nor selling liquor for profit resulted in the promotion of sobriety. That little burr of truth stuck to the Finnish national life. In 1853, a committee was formed for the publication and dissemination of Finnish literature. This was the work of St. Baranovski, a Russian professor in the University of Finland, assisted by that famous Finnish patriot, J. W. Snellman. In 1860 this committee was organized into a society, its object being to unite all the Finnish temperance people into a concern for the promotion of temperance principles. This society was merely a moderation enterprise, but, on October 15, 1883, it organized a total abstinence department and from that time its growth became rapid.

The total abstinence movement really began from the work of a local preacher by the name of Broady who had returned from a visit to England. On July 1, 1877, Broady delivered a "total abstinence" lecture, which resulted in the formation of a total abstinence society at Wasa. The same year, as an outcropping of Hilda Helman's work, the first distinctively children's temperance society was formed at Helsingfors. The sentiment of the times is indicated by the dismissal of a school teacher at Jacobstad, a year later, because he taught the children that alcoholic drink made one drunk. In 1881 a temperance society was formed at Abo and in 1882 one was formed at Helsingfors.

The year 1883 was a most important one in the history of the temperance reform in Finland. In that year, the society at Abo began the publication of a temperance periodical. In the same year the society at Helsingfors published a book on the question, the facts and arguments being taken largely from English sources. The book was extensively circulated through-

out the country and led to the reorganization of the old society of Pastor Rengwirt, which bore the name of *Kohtunden Ystavat.* This reorganization took place on October 14, 1883. The society immediately began the work of organizing new societies along lines similar to those being established in America and England. The movement was inaugurated in the first temperance convention ever held in Finland, that of 1883. The reform was placed by the convention on a higher plane than it had occupied before. One resolution passed read, "The aim of the temperance societies is to move alcoholic drinks to the chemist's shop, which is the right place for them." The reorganized society took the name *Raittenden Ystavat* (Friends of Temperance) and this society still holds the leadership of the reform in Finland. It now owns a one-half interest in a large four-story building of granite in Helsingfors, where its headquarters are located, and receives annual grants from the government.

The growth of the temperance societies in the early stages of the reform in Finland is indicated by the following:

Year	No. Societies	No. Members
1877	3	80
1882	4	513
1883	18	1,049
1884	58	4,385
1885	95	7,865
1886	121	9,801

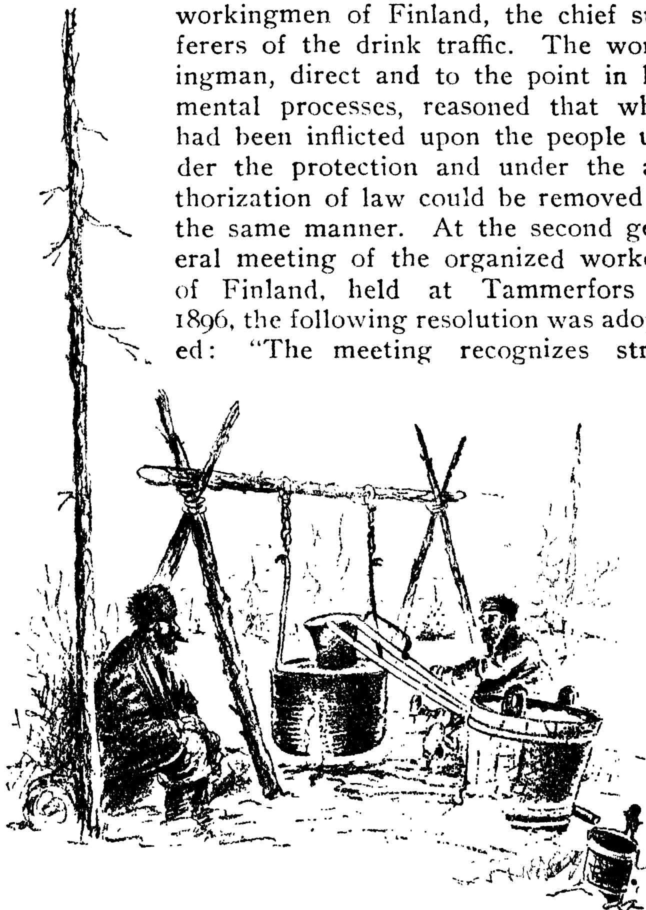
The *Raittenden Ystavat* has published a year book almost from its beginning and a large amount of other temperance literature.

The leading spirit in the formation of the *Raittenden Ystavat* was Dr. A. A. Granfelt, a cultured man of noble parentage, a son of one of the great the-

ologians of Finland. He was educated for the career of a physician, but gave up the practice of his profession to devote his entire time to the temperance cause. He was, for many years, secretary of the society and became known throughout the world for his efforts to redeem his people from the curse of alcohol. The early reformers in America and England were for the most part men and women from the lower or middle walks of life. The universities and colleges held aloof. But the reform in Finland, from its early days, has been promoted largely by university men. Dr. Granfelt himself, besides being a college man, was a member of the upper house of the Finnish diet.

In 1890, we find the formation of the "Teachers' Society of Health and Temperance," which, in conjunction with the *Raittenden Ystavat,* has been largely responsible for temperance education in Finland to this day. The people got a breath of the spirit of Mary H. Hunt, and two years later the first scientific temperance text book was published and the educational propaganda was begun under the guidance of Mrs. Ali Trygg Helenius, wife of Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppälä, of the University of Helsingfors, a member of the Finnish Parliament. She was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Finland. When the history of the temperance reform in Finland shall have been written, these two will stand out clear on the horizon as the Neal Dow and the Frances Willard of that country. The reforms in that land for the last twenty years, since the days of Dr. Granfelt, all point to Prof. and Madame Helenius, of Helsingfors. One cannot read far into temperance literature without meeting some of the writings of this remarkable couple; the reformer, patriot, linguist, and that wonderful woman, Ali Trygg Helenius, his wife.

While this temperance reform in Finland was born of woman and nursed into life under the breath of university influence, the rugged agitation that found voice in legislation was partly due to the organized workingmen of Finland, the chief sufferers of the drink traffic. The workingman, direct and to the point in his mental processes, reasoned that what had been inflicted upon the people under the protection and under the authorization of law could be removed in the same manner. At the second general meeting of the organized workers of Finland, held at Tammerfors in 1896, the following resolution was adopted: "The meeting recognizes strict



A MOONSHINE STILL IN FINLAND

temperance as the correct principle in regard both to the individual advocate of the workers' movement and the efforts of the workers' societies." The successful mover of this resolution in his address advocated a general workers' "strike" against drink, but he was a trifle ahead of his day. It was discussed, but time was needed for the establishment of the idea. But two years later the scheme took tangible form. Two workingmen of Kota, Kalle Heikkilä and Emil Andersson, called a meeting for the purpose of launching this very "strike" idea. The meeting was held in the city of Kota, on March 6, 1898. For a beginning it was decided that, for a period of one year, from May 1, 1898, to May 1, 1899, they would observe strict abstinence from all kinds of intoxicating beverages, including wine and beer.

The movement, doubtless, would have been a local one had not another Finnish genius risen to the needs of the occasion. Dr. Konr. Relander, just elected to the superintendency of the Workingmen's Society of Uleaborg, caught the vision. He called a meeting of workingmen at Uleaborg and organized the movement on a national scale. Dr. Relander's name carried with it confidence and authority wherever the Finnish language was spoken. Circulars and appeals were sent out over the country and the unique strike reached enormous proportions. It was found that 70,000 workingmen and women of all classes of society had enlisted in the "strike against alcohol." On May 1, the "strikers" held great open-air meetings, the like of which Finland had never seen. In Tammerfors, the great manufacturing city, out of a population of 27,000 people, 8,000 joined the strike.

This violent agitation of the thought and conscience of the people could have but one result. The

demand arose that the drink shops that had been established by law be removed by law. The people declared that the time had come when drunkenness should no longer be promoted by authority of the statutes of Finland. Democracy, unlike despotism, is direct in its attacks. No Daniel is needed to interpret its resolutions. And so, when representatives of all the "strike leagues" met at Tammerfors, on November 14 and 15, 1898, all were ready for progressive and radical action. Among the resolutions passed by the convention, the following were unanimously agreed upon:

1. Speakers on temperance must be supplied, at least one in every county. They should work everywhere, in the cities as well as in the country, organizing Strike Leagues and temperance societies, and spreading temperance literature.

2. A board of nine members should prepare a universal program of work, and the plan for future arrangement and prosperity of the movement.

3. The manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks should be regarded as unworthy and disgraceful employment in which no honest man should be engaged.

4. To be drunk, during office hours especially, but also outside of such, should be considered so great a crime as to make any person guilty thereof entirely unfit for any office whatever, whether it be that of state, of the community or of the private individual.

5. Those taking part in the strike movement should, provided other interests are not at stake, always vote for such candidates to the Landtdag (parliament) or to the city council as are willing to advance prohibitory laws, and by virtue of existing laws promote the temperance cause as much as possible.

6. Instruction concerning the effects of alcoholic drinks, based upon scientific facts, should be introduced into the schools.

7. The chief aim of the Strike League Against Intoxicating Drinks is to effect strict Prohibition of all sale, manufacture and importation of intoxicating drinks. In the next session of the Landtdag should be introduced a giant petition, with signatures from all parts of the country, in which the government

should be requested to enact such measures as are necessary for the realization of the Prohibition laws.

It was this agitation that gave impetus to legislation against the traffic in debauchery, which was already well under way. The year before the formation of the *Raittenden Ystavat,* the government of Finland passed an act allowing municipalities to adopt the so-called "Gothenburg system" of selling liquor and granting local option to the rural districts. Under the local option feature of this law, the people lost but little time in driving the drink traffic out of the greater part of the country. In a report made to the World's Temperance Congress held in London in 1900, Dr. Helenius stated that of the 422 parishes, representing a population of nearly 2,000,000 people, all had voted out the traffic except nine.

Under the Gothenburg system, private corporations of alleged "disinterested" men take over the retail traffic. The stockholders receive 6 per cent of the profits. Of the balance, three-fifths go to various philanthropic purposes in the city where the concern is located. The other two-fifths go to the improvement of roads. The sale of beer and wine was also largely controlled by the benevolent monopoly. The laws were to be strictly obeyed and, in theory, the drinking of the people was to be discouraged. The operations of the law did not work out according to the theory. The temperance people, for the most part, would have nothing to do with the liquor selling. The companies, therefore, drifted into the control of politicians and persons interested in the manufacture of liquor, and who, for other reasons than their dividends, were interested in large sales of drink. The temperance people promoted the local option campaigns against the drink shops and fought the "Goth-

enburg" liquor shops. At the International Congress Against the Abuse of Alcohol, held in Christiania, Norway, in September, 1890, Edw. Bjorkenheim, representative of Finland, said:

"The experiences of Finland with the Gothenburg system do not run in a favorable direction, and it is evident that there is a strong current of opinion against it in the country. Especially is this the case in temperance circles, that is, among people who, provided the system would answer its professed object—to further the interest of temperance and morals—would be the first to hail it as a valued friend and ally. . . .

"Temperance sentiment in Finland is unanimously and decidedly against the Gothenburg system; and should this system as it is now organized, have a future in our country, then in the constitution of the various companies it must be laid down:

"(1) That the net profits without deductions be paid over to the state exchequer.

"(2) That their operations be put under strong and special public control; and

"(3) That every allusion to their presumed furtherance of moral and temperance progress be suppressed."

Changes have been made from time to time in the details of the law. As it stood at the breaking out of the European war in 1914, legislation in regard to alcoholic drink is divided into three classes:

First. Liquors that contain more than 22 per cent alcohol. This class is composed entirely of spirits.

Second. Liquors that contain from 4 to 22 per cent alcohol. This class covers wine, punsch, etc.

Third. Liquors that contain less than 4 per cent alcohol. This class covers the beer.

"Disinterested management" has a monopoly of the entire first class. In some places it has the monopoly of all classes of liquors. Three-fifths of the profits go to the community to be used in parks and things outside the usual subjects of taxation. The

other two-fifths go to the state to be used in extending railway systems. Appropriations are made to temperance societies. The stockholders get 6 per cent dividends, the usual rates of interest being 7 and 8. The stockholders are usually politicians and friends of the distillers who have a direct interest in promoting sales instead of curtailing them. Certain local option features have been extended to the cities. The city council and mayor can abolish the saloons without reference to any higher power. If, however, the city council votes out the saloons and the mayor disapproves, the question is referred to the governor of the province for decision.

There are now something like 80,000 members of temperance societies in Finland. The membership of the leading societies is approximately as follows:

Raittenden Ystavat	25,000
Finlands Svenska Nykterhetsforbund (Swedish Temperance Society of Finland)	14,000
College Student Abstainers	8,000
Abstaining Railway Men	1,000
Women's Christian Temperance Union	500

There is also a temperance organization among the physicians.

The attempt to "Russianize" Finland in 1904, which resulted in the killing of the tyrant Governor Bobrikov and the general strike of 1905, led to a reformed diet and several legal reforms. The olden Four Estates were superseded by a parliament of 200 members. The new reformed law also raised the number of legal voters from about 100,000 to 1,250,000, nearly 50 per cent of the entire population. It was then (1906) that women came into full suffrage.

At the first election, in 1906, the voters chose a

new parliament, twenty-five of whose members were women. And when the parliament assembled, in 1907, one of its first acts was to pass a Prohibition law of the most drastic nature (October 21, 1907). The absolute prohibition of all kinds of alcoholic liquor was decreed. A man could not even have liquor in his house, and wine for the sacrament was even forbidden. In the debates, one member declared that he did not see why churches should be the only taverns in the country. The bill, which was passed on October 31, 1907, contained a paragraph to the effect that it should become operative on July 1, 1909. The Finnish senate, which is the local government, refused to recommend to the governor that the law be approved. The date for the taking effect of the law was therefore passed without the Imperial approval, and the whole law consequently became void.



The Market at Helsingfors.

At the second session of parliament the same bill was again passed. This time an impression was made on Petrograd. The Imperial government began some negotiations with the Ducal government at Finland looking to some modifications of the law as the price of Imperial approval. Up to this writing (March, 1915), the negotiations are still in progress, and the prohibition bill has not yet

(March, 1915) become a law. The motive for this act on the part of the Tsar has been erroneously attributed to his reluctance to losing the revenue of Finnish spirits under the Russian liquor monopoly. This idea is a mistaken one, for the reason that the Russian liquor monopoly did not extend to Finland. The liquor business in Finland is under the control of the Finnish government, except as the Tsar, as Grand Duke of Finland, has the veto power over acts of the Finnish parliament.

Prior to 1864, the peasants had the right to distill liquor at their homes, and about 20,000 home stills were in operation in a population of one and two-thirds millions of people. The annual consumption of liquor per capita reached about twenty liters. In 1864, the peasants renounced the right of private distillation, and since then the distillation has been under state control, with high taxes. Later, the Gothenburg system with local option was introduced as state supra. Where the Gothenburg system was in vogue, the consumption of liquor was not much affected, but in the rural districts, nearly all of which adopted the prohibition policy, the drink was well nigh annihilated. By 1895 the consumption of spirits per capita had dropped to about 1.84 liters for the whole country. It has increased slightly since then. There is not a workman's club in all Finland where drink is sold. There is not a Socialist or labor newspaper in all Finland that will accept any sort of liquor advertisements.

While it is true that Finland makes its own laws subject to Imperial approval, it is also true that the Grand Duchy is under the supreme military jurisdiction of Petrograd. At about the same time that the traffic in vodka was eliminated in Russia because of

the war of 1914, the same was prohibited in those sections of Finland which were declared to be under military law. The text of the order of the Governor General of Finland declaring this policy was as follows:

> "The inhabitants of the localities declared to be in the state of war are hereby notified that the Commander-in-Chief has issued orders forbidding in Finland the sale of whisky and other alcoholic drinks until the end of the war.
>
> "Any violation of these orders is punishable in accordance with my orders, issued on November 24, 1914, without any court trial, by imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, or by a money fine, not exceeding 8,000 marks."*

Because the liquor traffic in Finland was confined almost entirely to the large cities, all of which were under military rule, the order practically eliminated the drink traffic from the entire country.

**Russkoye Slovo* (New York), March 4, 1915.

STATISTICS OF DENATURED ALCOHOL FOR FINLAND

(From the *Tionde Argangen* for 1912.)

YEAR	ALCOHOL FOR FUEL	TOTAL
1893	23,339	127,758
1894	19,817	201,912
1895	46,617	253,750
1896	51,509	300,859
1897	77,998	269,295
1898	114,409	313,055
1899	157,344	367,913
1900	183,667	371,693
1901	207,775	428,371
1902	168,238	385,439
1903	219,953	413,556
1904	229,353	418,973
1905	237,020	444,678
1906	246,037	407,898
1907	340,926	516,931
1908	338,215	537,035
1909	355,482	517,037
1910	480,531	728,824
1911	478,810	702,397

STATISTICS OF MALT LIQUORS FOR FINLAND.

(From the *Tionde Argangen* (Statistical Year Book) for 1912.)

YEAR	NUMBER OF BREWERIES	NUMBER OF WORKERS	VALUE OF PRODUCT IN MARKS	BEER AND PORTER	*SMALL BEER
1891	89	1,411	7,113,910	24,931,485	
1892	91	1,309	6,127,804	21,744,498	
1893	87	1,136	5,561,254	19,347,146	
1894	87	1,182	5,350,285	18,840,575	
1895	88	1,267	6,188,487	22,019,457	
1896	87	1,352	7,016,014	25,372,360	
1897	88	1,451	7,951,882	27,780,236	
1898	87	1,509	8,054,540	29,569,069	
1899	89	1,571	8,873,761	26,994,395	7,975,570
1900	87	1,559	8,003,051	28,595,768	7,732,192
1901	87	1,508	8,476,095	28,091,372	7,164,806
1902	85	1,465	7,254,100	24,699,346	8,931,170
1903	90	1,421	6,641,900	19,200,264	3,145,379
1904	89	1,246	6,506,737	20,378,564	5,643,331
1905	89	1,257	6,717,600	20,972,737	4,996,416
1906	86	1,280	7,507,000	23,464,406	6,354,172
1907	90	1,390	8,785,500	27,930,394	5,699,020
1908	88	1,315	7,242,700	18,054,580	2,916,218

*Records incomplete.

PRODUCTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS IN FINLAND

(From the *Tionde Argangen* for 1912.)

YEAR	NUMBER OF ESTABLISH-MENTS	PRODUCTION IN LITERS OF 50 PER CENT ALCOHOL
1871	44	6,391,234
1872	52	7,989,288
1873	60	9,750,978
1874	62	10,838,977
1875	62	11,240,371
1876	64	11,209,318
1877	63	10,838,712
1878	64	10,563,022
1879	60	8,116,304
1880	56	6,268,029
1881	69	9,294,292
1882	66	10,296,734
1883	70	11,045,171
1884	71	11,284,693
1885	69	11,285,427
1886	66	11,331,202
1887	51	5,700,491
1888	35	4,280,085
1889	48-	7,054,060
1890	45	7,749,346
1891	46	7,685,734
1892	39	6,766,194
1893	30	5,031,799
1894	33	7,033,298
1895	26	5,122,759
1896	27	6,076,906
1897	31	8,311,694
1898	26	6,768,287
1899	28	8,598,306
1900	29	10,017,697
1901	26	6,833,543
1902	24	6,518,554
1903	24	6,062,998
1904	23	6,465,100
1905	28	8,246,906
1906	23	6,844,499
1907	20	6,247,887
1908	22	6,361,775
1909	26	7,979,933

SALE OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS AND REVENUES OF FINNISH CORPORATIONS FOR THE SALE OF ALCOHOL, 1898-1909.

Year	Brandy and Other Distilled Alcoholic Liquors in Liters		Wines & Other Weak Spirits in Liters	Beer, etc., in Liters	Gross Receipts	Net Profits	Profits Distributed		
							To the State	To the Commune	Total
1898	6,240,498	600,039	120,530	2,634,906	15,635,635.41		1,133,701.34	1,752,669.71	2,886,371.05
1899	6,496,867	667,849	133,466	3,220,534	17,160,130.63		1,278,400.58	1,969,767.50	3,248,168.08
1900	6,245,444	727,487	133,360	2,825,263	16,811,591.19		1,213,785.16	1,876,723.95	3,090,509.11
1901	5,351,233	697,959	131,897	2,529,102	15,268,312.19		1,031,563.33	1,605,661.45	2,637,224.78
1902	4,633,088	559,769	130,860	2,374,706	13,370,092.88		863,039.31	1,368,677.12	2,231,716.43
1903	4,328,758	532,079	114,737	3,142,024	11,388,708.86	2,501,014.10	914,274.12	1,550,586.57	2,464,860.69
1904	4,408,740	474,361	117,144	3,766,777	11,893,378.05	2,686,108.39	931,969.19	1,591,337.42	2,523,306.61
1905	4,517,200	544,718	110,238	3,408,414	12,204,043.15	2,621,460.77	950,521.79	1,631,300.90	2,581,822.69
1906	4,522,623	573,954	190,570	3,957,010	14,437,460.73	3,367,908.75	1,244,845.50	2,056,654.25	3,301,499.75
1907	4,402,559	583,163	237,351	3,882,274	15,815,629.85	3,320,678.49	1,119,940.39	2,065,980.14	3,185,920.53
1908	4,826,873	615,510	280,327	2,465,745	16,857,366.77	3,611,931.88	1,278,091.92	2,264,771.09	3,542,863.01
1909	4,850,156	674,833	322,154	2,624,815	17,335,182.10	3,806,264.00	1,334,459.01	2,385,125.98	3,719,584.99

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS OF THE SOCIETIES FOR SALE AND RETAIL OF ALCOHOL, 1899-1911.

Year	Teaching	Education	D'mestic Industry, Etc.	Benevolence	Tem-p'rance	Hygiene	Sport	Science and Art	Buildings and Parks	Light'g, El'ct'c'y and Fire Dept.	Service of Communication	Miscl.	Total
1899	355,220	205,027	10,250	170,318	25,053	198,147	14,071	236,189	270,841	99,505	97,043	156,016	1,837,680
1900	448,099	195,397	6,950	156,631	25,260	267,582	28,825	187,780	387,958	101,950	77,255	113,000	1,996,687
1901	449,426	206,203	8,800	172,176	24,800	228,723	18,255	201,057	314,775	125,900	146,630	84,884	1,981,629
1902	371,367	179,545	6,762	174,860	16,400	167,764	12,645	189,868	245,289	95,402	92,909	56,877	1,609,688
1903	330,321	168,021	5,350	177,445	22,787	127,189	8,100	199,066	170,429	73,803	46,450	49,452	1,378,413
1904	378,452	215,556	7,550	140,547	37,246	203,310	12,465	182,414	224,257	66,290	42,155	66,744	1,576,986
1905	418,950	259,501	16,450	161,003	45,850	204,748	18,052	195,400	205,443	72,440	47,267	72,571	1,718,675
1906	375,551	277,334	8,450	154,879	52,261	202,456	37,649	195,874	216,466	68,988	40,682	73,274	1,703,864
1907	539,930	336,051	12,300	178,027	40,664	236,654	48,358	225,168	253,309	100,295	44,758	76,767	2,092,281
1908	520,311	255,162	10,215	242,586	41,600	243,959	31,734	237,173	293,669	116,075	40,307	75,617	2,108,408
1909	511,527	261,049	24,300	267,569	27,600	280,655	51,066	196,323	404,676	128,857	53,547	80,011	2,287,180
1910	596,987	297,251	12,700	246,706	31,050	303,710	47,113	281,215	397,294	86,720	50,025	103,023	2,453,794
1911	559,351	214,929	15,950	179,198	28,158	303,315	38,475	189,971	250,478	71,117	41,171	99,117	1,991,230
	5,855,492	3,071,026	146,027	2,421,945	418,729	2,969,212	366,808	2,717,498	3,634,884	1,207,342	820,199	1,107,353	24,736,515



A CORNER IN OLD RIGA

SHOWING PETER'S CHURCH AND CONVENT HEILIGEN GEIST

CHAPTER VI.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES.



THE history and conditions of the so-called "Baltic Provinces," Courland, Esthonia and Livonia, are so different from that of the remainder of Russia that it is necessary to treat of them in a separate chapter. These provinces lie along the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland. The people are made up chiefly of Letts, Lithuanians and Esthonians. The Esthonians belong to the same racial stock as the Finns, the Lapps, and the Maygars of Austria. The Letts and Lithuanians are allied peoples, though the latter, because of their long contact and association with the Poles, partake about as much of Polish characteristics as of the Lettish. Their language, the Lithuanian or Lettausch, is a strange mixture of Lettish and Polish. There is no linguistic or racial connection between these people and the Esthonians, who are their hereditary enemies.

The Esthonians inhabit chiefly the province of Esthonia, the chief city of which is Revel, at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. The Letts live in the provinces of Livonia and in the old Duchy of Courland, the chief city of which is Riga. The Lithuanians are more to the south, in the provinces of Kovno and Wilna. For centuries the Lithuanians maintained a pretty complete independent existence, first under the princes of Lithuania, then under the kings of Lithuania, later as a duchy under the King of Poland.

Altogether, these races comprise nearly 5,000,000

people. Originally, the Esthonians were addicted to piracy and made themselves a terror to merchant traders on the Baltic Sea. In 1195-6 Canute VI. conquered the Esthonians and baptized them by force. But they promptly returned to their old ways when the King left the country. Courland was originally peopled by the Cours, a Lettish tribe, but their separate identity as a tribe has long since been lost. Revel was founded by Waldemar II. in 1219 and annexed to the Danish crown. But in 1224 came the Germans, who overran and conquered Livonia, Esthonia and Courland, under the leadership of the Brethren of the Sword. For a couple centuries, the Bishop exercised local temporal power, under the Hanseatic League, which was in commercial control. While the sovereignty of the country was banded about by Sweden, Poland and Russia, the real control of affairs remained in the hands of the German barons. For six hundred years the German overlords ground down these people into serfdom of the most galling sort. Even most of the land to this day is owned by descendants of these German nobles. These German estates are unusually large, averaging from 9,500 to 11,000 acres in size. Esthonia and Livonia came under complete control of Russia by the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. In 1795, the assembly of nobles of the Duchy of Courland placed their country under Russian jurisdiction. Serfdom, which had been fastened upon the people by the Germans for so many centuries, was abolished under Alexander I. in Esthonia in 1817 and in Livonia in 1819. For a time these Baltic provinces continued a sort of a collective government, under the Russian flag, but this was abolished in 1876.

While the Esthonians have an hereditary enmity

to the Letts and Lithuanians, all three elements are united in hatred to the Germans, who held them in serfdom for six centuries, after robbing them of their lands and homes. The German barons still hold the lands and also numerous hereditary privileges, which adds to the inherent anti-German feeling. Among these ancient hereditary baronial privileges is that of brewing beer. For some years the Russian government has sought to underwrite or redeem these brewery privileges, but without success. The difficulty in the way has been the failure to agree upon a price which the barons were willing to accept for relinquishing their privileges. The fact that the breweries are controlled by those whom they regard as oppressors makes it easy for the Lettish people to espouse temperance principles. They are a restive, turbulent people, who do not take kindly to the prevailing economic system and are chronic insurgents. Had they been a more numerous people and had they not been so situated geographically that their territory was periodically overrun by the armies of stronger nations, the Letts would, beyond a doubt, have become a great people.

This feeling against their German overlords had an opportunity to express itself just after the close of the war between Russia and Japan. At that time, unrest throughout the Tsar's domain was very general, and fires of insurrection broke out in many directions. The Letts, feeling that their hour had come to act, arose in revolt. Their revolt was not directed so much against the rule of the Tsar—that was far away. It was directed more against their local German landlords. As is usual among people long in servitude and cherishing bitter grievances, the insurrection took the form of fearful excesses and outrages

of all sorts committed against those whom they regarded as their oppressors. In self protection, the land owners appealed to Petrograd, making common cause with the government against the peasant classes. This insurrection was quelled in the most ruthless Russian fashion by General Bobrikov, who wreaked vengeance upon the peasants by inflicting upon them, with compound interest, the outrages that they had visited upon the landlords. Since then the land of the Letts has been more or less of an armed camp, about 7,000 Russian soldiers being constantly quartered in their section.

It is because temperance activities in these provinces have been so generally promoted by the revolutionary element that the Russian government has always been suspicious of the Baltic anti-alcohol reformers. The German brewers were more influential with the Russian governor than the peasant and tenant class. And there is some justification for this feeling of suspicion in Russian circles. Mr. Jean Seskis, the editor of *Dsmitenes Wehstnesis,* the largest daily paper in Riga, and which is published in the Lettish language, told me in 1913 that the "temperance movement and the revolutionary movement are one and the same thing." It represents a revolt against the baronial brewer and the Russian government vodka monopoly.

There have been at least three distinct "temperance movements" in these Baltic provinces, and it is a satisfaction to Americans to know that the first movement was of distinctly American origin. In 1835, Rev. Robert Baird went to Germany and there published a German translation of his *History of Temperance Societies in America,* distributing 30,000 copies in that country. He visited Petrograd and was received by

the Tsar, but the chief results of his Russian work were among the Lettish people. In 1836 Pastor Sokowlsky, of Roop, near Riga, published some information respecting American temperance societies obtained from Baird in a journal called *News from the Kingdom of Heaven.* Some of the people thereupon decided to form a society of the same kind. They drew up rules for such a society, which, under date of August 26, 1842, they submitted to the provincial governor for approval. The governor forwarded the rules to Petrograd for instructions. In a few months, the Imperial government replied, forbidding the formation of such societies "lest they should be mistaken for separate religious sects."* But, in the meantime, the agitation continued and the formation of temperance societies had been progressing without authority. In 1837, Pastor Dobbner, of Neuen, Muhlen, published some matter respecting American temperance societies at the expense of the Patriotic Club of Riga. About the same time, Pastor Jurgenshon, of St. Matthai, translated Schokke's *Brandy Plague* into Lettish with such extraordinary effect that in the two parishes of Schwaneburg and Marienburg 14,000 persons became abstainers. Results then came rapidly for a time. In 1838 certain peasants of Lower Bartofsky, in the province of Courland, printed an appeal for sobriety in the *Lettish Gazette,* which, on April 15, was copied into the *Northern Bee,* of Petrograd. At the same time, 96 of these men went to their pastor and induced him to form a temperance society. In a short time the original 96 grew to 179. During the same year other societies were established at Frederickstadt and at Jacobstadt, with more than 100 members each.

*Burns, *Temperance History,* Vol. I., p. 120.

In 1838, Baird's reform also swept over Livonia, and with such remarkable effect that the profits from the sale of liquors were materially reduced. To prevent this, the German landlords addressed complaints to the Russian government. On July 21, 1838, the Russian government issued a mandate to the Consistories of Livonia directing that "they should inform the parish pastors that the government disapproved of their efforts." This, under the Slavic mystic way of putting things, amounted to an order to suppress the reform, and it was suppressed. Conforming to the government mandate, the provincial government of Livonia, on July 23, 1838, put forth a similar decree and, on July 29, the Consistory of Riga issued orders to the clergy in conformity with these decrees. The reform begun by the clergy under inspiration of Robert Baird for the uplift of the people, was suppressed at the behest of the German barons, who did not want their liquor profits reduced. The agitation was a lively one while it lasted. A considerable number of tracts were published, one of which reached a circulation of 60,000 copies. The reform moved so swiftly that public almshouses were not allowed any spirits and the inmates thereof were not permitted in the drinking shops.*

In 1865 the clergy of Lithuania or Livonia again began agitating the temperance question, with large initial success, but with the same result. As soon as the success of the movement became apparent, General Mouraviev strictly forbade the clergy to discuss the temperance question in their pulpits on the ground that the government depended largely on the liquor revènues, and that these revenues would be dimin-

*Burns, Vol. I., p. 152.

ished if the people ceased using liquor. The liquor business was then a government monopoly, the old "farming" system having recently been abolished. At this time, throughout the Empire, 42 per cent of the government revenues was derived from the traffic.* The government, accordingly, suppressed the temperance agitation among the Letts just as they had done before in 1838 and 1842.

On my visit to this section in 1913, I had several days rich with experience among these people. I had eight or nine hours in Libau, where I landed in company with some eight hundred others, and, as most of the trains left at night, the government railway station was thronged with people waiting and meeting their friends. The waiting room was merely a gigantic barroom, where the hundreds tarried hour after hour, drinking vodka and beer alternately until they fell asleep and, in drunken stupor, were dragged out by the guards, policemen or soldiers. They were dragged across the floor just as a dead dog would be handled. There were eight hours of this sort of thing. Where the victims of government vodka were taken to, I do not know. But they were dragged out by government agents for punishment after other government agents had gotten them beastly drunk in a place provided by the government for that purpose.

The next morning, Sunday, after an all night's ride, I landed in Riga. Here, again, the waiting room of the government railway was but a great barroom. Just outside was a magnificent government shrine where supplication is made for the souls of the dead, so many of whom are the victims of government vodka. The government barroom was open and doing big business—the government shrine was closed.

*Burns, Vol. II., p. 63.

I found this condition obtaining throughout Russia. In the large waiting rooms of the railway stations there was generally a large bar at one end and a shrine with a picture of Christ at the other. The traveler takes his drink seated at the table and then makes the sign of the cross to the ikon as he rises from his seat.

The bibulous center of Riga is the "House of the Black Heads," a social guild of young men who took that name to distinguish themselves from their gray-haired seniors. They built their "House" originally in 1330, and it still stands with the front adorned with allegorical figures and arms of cities which belonged to the Hansa order. In the past the organization left its impress upon the commercial and political life of its time, but now the chief duty of a member is to give, in its hall, a 1,000 rouble drinking bout shortly after his initiation. A great wine house, forming a part of the same structure, affords a convenient source of supply.

In the lower social strata, misery and filth are to be found everywhere. The centers thereof are in the cafes which are so much extolled by certain American philosophers and writers. The cafes and traktirs are astonishingly numerous where the vodka of the government and the beer of the German overlord is sold. They do close on Sundays until after the divine service. The balance of the Sabbath is given over to unrestrained drunkenness and disorder.

In a two hours' walk through sections where the cafes were most numerous, I saw more drunkenness than I had seen in America during the previous six months. Drunken men slobbering over drunken women in the cafes; drunken boys and girls reeling through the alleys, drunken *isvoschicks* lashing their



HOUSE OF THE "BLACK HEADS," RIGA

THE CHIEF DRINKING ORGANIZATION OF RIGA. THE STRUCTURE WAS BUILT IN 1330. THE GABLED HOUSE AT THE LEFT IS AN ENORMOUS WINE HOUSE

horses through the streets, drunken sailors on the water front; drunken people were everywhere.

Through some social workers I learned that there were 18,000 women, outcasts from society, making a vicious living out of the lusts of the city and that the liquor cafes are the centers of their trade. What an appalling tragedy of human life! Here are wretched, exhausted women who can now only ply their trade by ushering young girls in the way of vice. Women sweeping the streets and driving heavy dray wagons, for they must live. There are beautiful parks on every hand where these miserable victims of a false social system may breathe and starve. The bell of a magnificent cathedral calls them to vespers, where they carry their diseased bodies, clad in filth and rags, and knock their heads on marble floors while they call on God for mercy. Oh, the pity and the irony of it!

On January 21, 1891, a temperance evangelistic movement, under the name, "White Cross," was instituted at Riga through the initiative of the Christian fellowship of the Lutheran church. It was conducted somewhat along the lines of the Gospel pledge signing campaigns of America, but included in its program the combating of vice. It was on a strictly evangelistic basis. During the same year the Lettish Abstinence Union *Auseklis,* of Riga, was founded (May 17). The *Auseklis* maintains a temperance restaurant, the profits of which are used to provide temperance literature. The usefulness of this concern still continues. Its president is A. Deglau, Rumpenhofschestrasse 25. The "White Cross" was reorganized May 10, 1908. Total abstinence is a requisite for membership. This work is conducted in two divisions. The German section is led by *Das Gemeinschaftsblatt,* while the Lettish section is led by *Wahrti*

Unternehmungen. Each Friday, dinner is served at their place of meeting, and Sunday services are conducted every Sunday evening. Its president is H. Loote, Alexanderstrasse 13. Another "White Cross" union, the Livlanderischer, was established at Dorpaterstrasse 5, on December 21, 1911.

As a further outgrowth of this same movement, the Anti-Alcohol Union *Nordlicht* was founded in Mühlgraben on May 15, 1904. This is still active under the presidency of Y. Albert. On March 22, 1907, the Evangelical Union "Uplift" was founded at Romanostrasse 22, Riga. This organization has branches at Vitebesk, Dünaburg, Pernau, Dorpat, Moscow and Behnen. The president of the movement is G. Rabl. It conducts a periodical devoted to the temperance reform. The Temperance Evangelist Union was established May 8, 1907, at Moskauerstrasse 197, Riga, under the management of K. Schilling. The movement, beginning with 1891, was purely an evangelical one, conducted under the leadership of the Lutheran church. It was a resurrection of the movement which was founded by Robert Baird in the thirties and which reached its climax in 1838, after which it was suppressed by the Russian government. It was strictly evangelical in its character, under the care of the Lutheran church organization. For the reason that the movement was regarded as a branch of the work of an established church, it received no opposition this time at the hands of the government authorities.

On February 29, 1908, a movement of another character was started which did meet with government opposition. On that date, the Riga Union for the Support of Total Abstinence was founded. This was intended purely as an educational movement, its purpose being to provide scientific lectures on the

alcohol question for the public schools. A considerable amount of literature was translated from the German into Lettish and some into Russian. It opened auspiciously and a large number of lectures were given in the schools. The leading spirit of the movement was Andrei Friedenburg, a prominent lawyer. The prosperity of the concern was short, for the government soon forbade the society the use of the public school buildings for the purpose of these lectures. Because the cost of hiring halls for the purpose of popular lectures was prohibitive, the work of the society was thereby well-nigh annihilated. It continues a nominal existence, however, on the Suworastrasse, under the presidency of Mr. Friedenburg.

Contemporary with this educational movement, another concern was established, not quite so direct in its announced purposes, and which met with a better fate. It was organized on December 4, 1907, under the name, "Association for the Promotion of the General Welfare," a name sufficiently general to enable any sort of propaganda to be conducted under its flag. Its headquarters at Kuterstrasse 4 are open every working day. Its president is Pastor O. Scharbert. Its declared purpose is to promote the general welfare of the people in relation to hygiene and morals. One section of this association is the anti-alcohol propaganda under the general superintendency of its president, C. W. Schmidt, a familiar figure at recent international anti-alcohol gatherings. This division is again split up into "groups." The "group" of men and women teachers is led by Fraulein Elizabeth von Grevingk, while the "group" of abstaining workingmen is led by its president, K. Nelins. A membership fee of one rouble is charged. This organization has combined so much general philanthropic work with its anti-alco-

hol propaganda that it has not attracted the opposition of the authorities. The concern has been planning new departures, such as a permanent literature depot, a permanent anti-alcohol exhibit, a traveling exhibit and a house of refuge for victims of drink.

The Russian government has had much trouble with secret organizations, which have generally been revolutionary, and so never has been disposed to allow the Good Templar order to secure a foothold anywhere in its domain. Some years ago, an attempt was made to launch the order in Finland, but the government promptly suppressed it. It was through the diplomacy of Edward Wavrinsky, of Stockholm, International Chief Templar of the order, that a beginning was made by the organization of a local lodge at Riga on February 3, 1911. A sort of a tentative consent was obtained from the Governor. Two lodges are now in operation, each having a membership of about 100. One operates under a German and the other under a Lettish ritual. The Lettish meetings are held at Küterstrasse 4, while the Germans meet at Andreastrasse 3. It was my privilege to attend a session of the German lodge. These meetings are attended with more than the usual secrecy observed by Good Templar meetings in other sections of the world, there being a fear that if too much attention is attracted to their work the Governor will suppress the enterprise entirely.

As a result of the above-mentioned enterprises, two more anti-alcohol movements have been undertaken. One is the formation of two societies among the Lithuanian or Litausch people of the city. One of these is the Litauscher Roman Catholic Temperance Union, founded September 23, 1909, and which meets at Elizabethstrasse 22, under the presidency of

Mr. Skardynski. The secretary is L. Kairys, and its treasurer is Y. Tukschitkalnis. The Litausch or Lithuanian people are chiefly Catholics. Another Litausch temperance enterprise, which was an outgrowth of the Catholic organization, is the Litauscher Anti-Alcohol Union, *Liedra,* which was formed on August 10, 1910, under the presidency of P. Bogdanpwiez, A. Sturkas as secretary and Y. Weilantas as treasurer. These societies are prospering.

Other temperance organizations now established in Riga are: Riga Temperance Union *Rihts,* founded May 10, 1908; Temperance Union *Agris Rihts,* organized March 5, 1910; Temperance Union *Welle,* organized February 3, 1911; Temperance Union *Upsina,* organized on the same date; Temperance Union *Warpa,* organized October 9, 1911, and the Riga Catholic Temperance Union, founded on March 17, 1909.

As these societies have progressed without any political entanglements, the confidence of the government in them has increased and the former hostility to them is gradually being placated. The organizations have wisely refrained from any other propaganda than that of the social and moral uplift of the people, so that now the suspicions of the authorities as to their intentions are well-nigh obliterated. The temperance reform is accordingly more firmly established in the Baltic provinces than in any other section of Russia. The movement in this section is especially hopeful for the reason that it arises almost entirely from among the people rather than being handed down from above, as is the case largely in Petrograd and Moscow.

Another curious feature of the case is that the movement in the Baltic provinces is largely of German origin and a reflection of the temperance reform

that has been sweeping over Germany during the past fifteen years. Nearly all of the literature used is of German origin. It is either printed in the original German or translated into Lettish, Litausch and Russian. So far the modern reform has not penetrated far among the Esthonians. There is yet some racial feeling of hostility between the Esthonians and the Letts, which may account for it in part. The hostility of the Letts toward the Germans mentioned in this chapter is not directed against the German people, but against the German barons or landholders. There is adequate ground for this feeling, and it is hereditary. It is among the curious freaks of history that relief from the oppression of alcohol comes from the Teutons, the very people that held the Lettish people in serfdom for six centuries.



CHAPTER VII.

THE VODKA MONOPOLY.



IT is quite natural for an autocracy to assume control of anything which concerns either the common interest or the government. It is perhaps more natural for an autocracy to do this than for a democracy, where the power is widely diffused and where there are so many different interests to be placated and dealt with. So the Russian government, with no constitution to interfere, has never hesitated to take over any industry for the time being or permanently that seemed necessary. It being the source of power, there was no appeal. From time to time, the Russian government has tried, in various ways, to lessen the evils that have grown out of the drink practices of the people. In principle, the personal habits of the citizens are of no concern to the government unless they should be of such a character as to undermine the efficiency of the people from a public standpoint. A drunken people cannot well produce taxes; they are inefficient as soldiers and a source of trouble in times of public disturbance. These reasons, combined with a natural feeling of sympathy for the victims of drink, have led the government of the Tsar at various times to interfere.

The measures adopted for the most part alternated between a system of government control of some sort on the one hand and, on the other, a bald system of farming out to the highest bidder the privileges of debauching the people. In either case, the government harnesses the traffic to a system for extracting revenue and plenty of it. Drink profits came easy. There was no grumbling. The traffickers were glad to pay for the privilege. About all the government had to do was to take the money and watch out that it got its share.

In 1650, during the reign of Alexis (1645-76), the first known attempt was made to lessen the evils of the drink practices of the people. Alexis was the second Tsar of the Romanov dynasty. By this time the central power had become well solidified. Industry and art were making much progress. The ecclesiastical reforms of Nikon were promulgated, the famous Russian ballet was introduced and the theatre had its first important start. The alcohol reforms of Alexis were along the natural lines of government regulation, and several attempts were made with more or less success by him and his successors. Each of these various schemes of regulation embodied a system of "farming" the retail sale of liquors out to the highest bidder. Beginning with 1705, this plan soon became fairly well established. The revenue therefrom rapidly increased. In 1750, it amounted to 2,500,000 roubles; in 1779 to seven millions, and in 1811 to over thirty millions.* In 1767, a farming system was elaborated by Catherine II. in which the element of government regulation became somewhat more prominent.

Sovremennaya Illustratzia, Petrograd, Jan. 29, 1915.



ARC OF FOUNTAINS
IMPERIAL PALACE, PETERHOF, RUSSIA



LEO TOLSTOI

Under this system of government supervision, the highest bidder was allowed the privilege of selling alcohol in a certain locality. Government regulations determined the prices to be charged and the number of places of sale to be opened in each district. In return for the money paid, the successful bidder was commissioned to spread drunkenness as widely as he wished or could and without much restraint as to methods used. Eventually this business fell largely into the hands of the Jews, especially in the western and southern provinces. And in this very thing, the Jews sowed the seeds of bitterness from which they reaped an abundant harvest of trouble in later years. The thrifty "farmers" were not over scrupulous. The mujik who got drunk found his pockets emptied. The drunken villager was unable to pay his share of the taxes levied upon the *mir*, and his thrifty neighbors were thus compelled to make up the deficit. Selling on credit and the collection of the drink debts by imprisoning the debtor was only one of the numerous and flagrant abuses connected with the "farming" system of selling the drink. In the Jewish districts, the liquor shops where the people were debauched, maltreated and robbed were mostly in the hands of the Jews, and these oppressions came to be charged to the account of the Jews. In 1913, while out at sea for nearly two weeks with a party of about sixty Russian "intellectuals" — doctors, lawyers, school teachers and others, I made extensive inquiry among them as to the reasons for the hostility of the people to the Jews. As they were all social democrats, they could not be charged with prejudice in favor of the government. They all insisted that they had no prejudice against the Jews, that the government was not hostile to the Jews, and unanimously declared that

religion had nothing whatever to do with the trouble. They all agreed that the Jew was a better tradesman than the mujik; that the mujik always got the worst of it in a deal with the Hebrew; that the Hebrew almost invariably lived by trade rather than by productive industry; that the tendency of the mujik was to despise anybody who did not work; that he regarded the tradesman as his oppressor, and that thereby the mujik accumulated large stores of resentment which occasionally broke loose in a frightful pogrom in which Slavic brutality was inflicted upon the hapless Jews without stint. In this, a pogrom and its causes bear some resemblance to similar phenomena in the mining camps of Colorado and West Virginia. At night over the stove in the peasants' *izba*, the children hear of the abuses heaped upon their fathers, their grandfathers and their great-grandfathers by the Jewish "farmers," and they remember. These stories do not lose anything in the telling, and thus the seeds are there planted for further trouble. The Jewish "farmers" little dreamed of the misfortunes that were to be visited upon their sons and their sons' sons through this traffic in vodka. Under the plan of Catherine, this situation became so acute that in 1856 the Jews of Russia, while being permitted to reside in villages and hamlets, were forbidden to live in any house where wine, beer or spirits were sold, or to meddle with that trade, or possess any distillery or dispose of any liquor in any way.*

The flagrant abuses developed under the "farming" system of Catherine led half a century later to a reversal of that policy. In 1819, Alexander I. issued a manifesto abolishing the farming system and insti-

*Burns, Vol I., p. 402.

tuting therefor a government monopoly along the lines of one recently abolished by Nicholas II. Under Alexander's manifesto, the government took over the entire monopoly of the wholesale traffic, leaving the retail trade in private hands. The price was fixed at seven roubles per vedro. The whole affair was badly managed and the financial returns miscalculated by Count Gouriev, the Minister of Finance. The government revenues falling off, the price of vodka was raised to eight roubles per vedro. The "farmers" fought the system. Illicit distilling and illicit selling resulted, and all sorts of violations of the law were increased in order to compel the government to return to the old system. Alexander was a benevolent despot, but not a strong one. True, the invasion of Napoleon was thwarted during his rule, but the defeat of the French was accomplished by the rigors of the Russian winter rather than by the prowess of Russian arms. Alexander tried to accomplish the emancipation of serfdom, but he was not strong enough to carry it through. He wanted to promulgate a constitution and even drafted one, the "Imperial Charter for the Russian Empire," but both the document and the proposal were suppressed. Because of the lack of administrative ability the government became discouraged at the want of results from the vodka monopoly, and accordingly, in 1827, the scheme was abandoned and the old farming system was re-established.

There then followed 35 years of the old time abuses of the "farming" system. True, some regulations were promulgated for holding the retailers in check and designed to minimize the recognized evils of the system, but the farmers, emboldened by their success in frustrating the governmental monopoly plan, generally ignored the regulations and trespassed

upon them whenever possible. In 1861, Alexander II. entered upon his famous series of reforms, one of them being the emancipation of the serfs described in Chapter IV. Another of these reforms affected the sale of spirits. It abolished entirely the farming system and, instead of it, provided that an excise tax should be levied upon all spirits at the distilleries, according to the size of the plant and the annual output; and that all distilleries as well as the places for the sale of spirits should be licensed by the government.

The new system went into effect on January 1, 1863, and proved to be no better than the original system. It gave the distillers full freedom of action, provided they paid the excise tax and the license dues. Otherwise, the question of drunkenness was left wholly in the hands of the manufacturers and sellers of spirits. The number of vodka shops was practically unlimited, and increased rapidly. The government taxed the alcohol before it left the distillery and cared nothing as to where it went after that. As the number of vodka shops increased, competition brought the prices down, and the consumption per capita went up at a terrific rate. In 1894, the last year of the excise system, the government revenue from the liquor traffic was 297,000,000 roubles, with the total population of the country at 123,500,000.

In the province of Moscow, every little village was said to have two drink shops, which formerly was not the case. Peasants took part of their wages in brandy. A correspondent of the London Times* stated that the distilleries increased from 87,000 in 1862 to 288,000 in 1864, according to the government calculations. When the "farming" system was resumed in

*Quoted by Burns, Vol. II., p. 63.

1827, it afforded revenue to the amount of 72,000,000 roubles. At the time of the emancipation of the serfs, the revenue had grown to 130,000,000 roubles, or about 40 per cent of the total government revenue.

The profits derived by the vodka "farmers" were colossal. At the time of the emancipation there were 216 farmers in Russia, and their annual income was calculated to be about 800,000,000 roubles. The farmers were the real "bosses" in the provinces. The whole administration, from the governor down, received regular salaries from them. The Minister of Finance once published the list of expenses of one such "farmer." It was found that he spent over 17,000 roubles a year in bribing the administration.*

Much has been written concerning the evils of the "farming" system of dealing with the liquor traffic in Russia, and nothing has been said to its advantage except that it produced abundant revenue. At times, the government seemed to encourage excessive drinking in order to increase the revenues. Dr. Burns quotes Haxthausen as saying, "In the central provinces the peasants are seduced into drunkenness, while in other provinces they are forced into it." In 1880, in many places, the fines of the local courts were commonly paid in vodka, which was usually consumed on the spot by the judges and the parties to the suit.† Writing in 1878, Sir Duncan Mackenzie Wallace gives this description of conditions prevailing generally:

"To appreciate aright this ugly phenomenon we must distinguish two kinds of venality. On the one hand there was the habit of exacting what are vulgarly termed 'tips' for services performed, and on the other there were the various kinds of

**Sovremennaya Illustratzia,* Jan. 29, 1915.

†Beaulieu; *l'Empire des tsars,* Vol. II., p. 310.

positive dishonesty. Though it might not be always easy to draw a clear line between the two categories, the distinction was fully recognized in the moral consciousness of the time, and many an official who received regularly *bezgreshniye dokhodi* (sinless revenues), as the tips were sometimes called, would have been very indignant had he been stigmatized as a dishonest man. The practice was, in fact, universal, and could be, to a certain extent, justified by the smallness of the official salaries. In some departments there was a recognized tariff. The 'brandy farmers,' for example, paid regularly a fixed sum to every official, from the governor to the policeman, according to his rank. I know of one case where an official, on receiving a larger sum than was customary, conscientiously handed back the change. The other and more heinous offenses were by no means so common, but were still fearfully frequent. Many high officials and important dignitaries were known to receive large revenues, to which the term 'sinless' could not by any means be applied, and yet they retained their position, and were received in society with respectful deference. That undeniable fact speaks volumes for the moral atmosphere of the official world at that time."*

The same writer gives a further description of the corruption that the vodka traffic visited upon the administration of the *mir*. He writes:

"Not unfrequently a volost elder trades with the money he collects as dues or taxes; and sometimes, when he becomes insolvent, the peasants have to pay their taxes and dues a second time. The volost court is very often accessible to the influence of vodka and other kinds of bribery, so that in many districts it has fallen into utter discredit, and the peasants say that any one who becomes a judge 'takes a sin on his soul.' The village assemblies, too, have become worse than they were in the days of serfage. At that time the heads of households—who, it must be remembered, have alone a voice in the decisions—were few in number, laborious, and well-to-do, and they kept the lazy, unruly members under strict control; now that the large families have been broken up, and almost every adult peasant is head of a

*Wallace, *Russia,* Vol. I., pp. 300, 301, edition of 1878. This edition of Wallace's *Russia* is permitted to be sold in Russia. His later edition is excluded.

household, the Communal affairs are often decided by a noisy majority; and almost any Communal decision may be obtained by 'treating the *mir*'—that is to say, by supplying a certain amount of vodka. Often I have heard old peasants speak of these things, and finish their recital by some such remark as this: 'There is no order now; the people have been spoiled; it was better in the time of masters.'"*

Early in the eighties, the laws were somewhat improved by prohibiting the sale of liquor apart from food, except in corked bottles. Establishments that were authorized to sell by the bottle could have but one room and could not have on the premises any open vessels containing vodka. This was intended to eliminate the drinking shop, but it had little effect on the drinking because one could step into a traktir† and get a dram with a bit of bread or fish.

About this time, the conservative press began to agitate for a return to the monopoly system of selling liquor, because of the multitudes of abuses that had grown up under the existing system. The idea appealed to the government and, in 1885, Alexander III. instructed his Minister of Finance, N. K. Bunge, to draw up a report on the tentative monopoly scheme. Bunge recalled the troubles that had existed formerly with the influential "farmers" and the lack of financial returns under the monopoly plan launched by Alexander I., and, accordingly, made a report to the Tsar adverse to the proposed plan. Two years later, 1887, Bunge resigned and was succeeded by M. Vishnegradski, who was more friendly to the idea, but Vishnegradski delayed the matter from time to time and never did launch the project. He was succeeded in 1893 by Sergius Julevich Witte, who had just rounded out fame through his successes in finance and as Di-

*Ibid, Vol. III., pp. 178, 179.

†A traktir is a cheap restaurant where drinks are served.

rector of Railways of the Empire. In his report to the Tsar, M. Witte explained the purposes of the proposed monopoly as a "system, by means of which the Minister of Finance hopes to put an end to the grievous influence of the retailers of spirits on the moral and economic condition of the people." The monopoly law was enacted along the lines laid down by the Minister, on June 6, 1894. It left the distilling business open to private enterprise, under government supervision. The production, whether from grain or potatoes, was to be limited. The government undertook to purchase from distilleries in any district where the monopoly was in operation a quantity equal to 66 per cent of the total consumption of the district, at a price fixed by the Minister of Finance. The balance of the amount needed was to be either purchased at auction, or manufactured in the government distilleries. The spirits were to be rectified at the government warehouses, and then bottled in quantities of from one two-hundredth to one-fourth of a vedro. The sale was to be permitted in stores managed by government officials, or in those of private persons, especially licensed for the trade.

The system, was introduced at first into the four eastern provinces of Perm, Oufa, Orenburg and Samara. It was found to be so profitable that it was extended from time to time until, on January 1, 1901, it was extended to all provinces in European Russia except the Grand Duchy of Finland. It was later extended to all the Empire, including Siberia, except Transcaucasia, Amour, Kamchatka, Sakhalin and the central Asiatic possessions.

As a fiscal system, the government spirits monopoly was truly a stroke of financial genius. In 1909 the government revenue from the liquor trade was

527,064,262 roubles. Under the excise system, with a tax of four roubles and forty kopeks on each vedro, the revenue on an equal quantity of spirits would have been 371,011,366 roubles, the increase under the present system being 173,724,968 roubles. Formerly this surplus money went into the hands of the vodka sellers. Under the monopoly it went to fill the government treasury, exhausted by the Russo-Japanese war. The treasury, empty for four years after the war, filled up rapidly. Thus it contained in cash, in 1909, 1,900,000 roubles; in 1910, 107,400,000; in 1911, 333,-000,000; in 1912, 477,000,000.

The introduction of the new system was effected with wonderful and unhoped for celerity and thoroughness. The semi-official *Novoe Vremia,* commenting upon this, said:

> "It was truly a colossal reform, as far as the capital required and the territory embraced were concerned. No one knows whence came all those hundreds of millions of roubles, necessary for the formation of the new department and the recruiting of a whole army of officials, now (1911) numbering over 120,000, a whole host of inspectors, superintendents, collectors; whence came the millions needed for the construction of enormous warehouses for whisky, etc. The reform has been introduced methodically and insistently, with German rather than Russian precision. Never in the history of Russia have such colossal means been applied to the problems of either education or religious instruction."

But yet *Novoe Vremia* concludes this showing by this significant statement, "As a result of this, drunkenness has rapidly gone up and not down."

In the official "Estimate of Government Revenues and Disbursements for 1913" the Russian Minister of Finance gives some interesting figures as to the importance of the spirits monopoly as a source of revenue. In the table below, the profits from the spirits

monopoly and the state railroads are taken at net figures. The total receipts from the former are estimated at 800,000,000 roubles, and the latter at 783,000,000 roubles.

GOVERNMENT REVENUES	IN ROUBLES	PER CENT OF THE TOTAL
Spirits monopoly	594,000,000	25
Custom House duties	334,000,000	16
Direct taxes	250,000,000	10
Tariff	218,000,000	9
Government property and capital	206,000,000	9
Indirect taxes	195,000,000	8
State railroads	186,000,000	7
Internal tax on sugar	128,000,000	5
Postal and telegraph service	117,000,000	5
Other revenues	138,000,000	6
Total	2,366,000,000	100

Thus, 25 per cent of the whole income of the government for 1913 was officially estimated to come from its control of the spirits monopoly. The total receipts from the whole transaction were estimated for the current year at 800,000,000 roubles; its expenses were estimated at 206,028,000 roubles. This leaves the government, which is, naturally, exempt from the excise tax, an estimated net profit of 593,962,000 roubles, or almost 300 per cent.

While the annual revenues of the Russian government from the vodka monopoly reached nearly a billion roubles toward the last, it must not be taken that that enormous amount represented the actual net income of the government from that source. Out of this must come the heavy expenses of administration. An indication of what these expenses amount to may be gleaned from the following tabulation of the expenses for the three years, 1911, 1912 and 1913. The expense for the last two years are official esti-

mates and not, therefore, probably exact. Russian statisticians are rather slow about their work and the actual figures are not promptly to be obtained:

EXPENSES OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE RUSSIAN VODKA MONOPOLY

	IN ROUBLES		
ITEMS OF EXPENSE	1911	1912	1913
Expenses of the Excise Dept.	1,958,000	1,958,000	1,960,000
Buildings	2,946,000	3,190,000	3,921,000
Maintenance of places of manufacture and sale	31,793,000	32,508,000	33,390,000
Taxes	1,532,000	1,535,000	1,640,000
Preparation and transportation of alcohol and wine, and expense for bottles	117,365,000	127,582,000	132,684,000
Subsidy to temperance Comm.	2,500,000	2,500,000	3,000,000
Bonus to promoters of spirits industry	22,085,000	18,565,000	21,809,000
Refund to rural and Cossack communities for loss of alcohol trade	7,624,000	7,624,000	7,624,000
Total	187,803,000	195,462,000	206,028,000

While the sales of vodka have fluctuated somewhat in recent years, the profits of the monopoly have steadily and rapidly increased. This is explained partly by the fact that the price of vodka is being gradually increased. This increase, however, has not been noticeable enough to affect the sales. Before 1900 the price of vodka was 7 roubles per vedro. After the boxer uprising, it was raised to 7 roubles, 60 kopeks. During the Russo-Japanese war the price went up to 8 roubles; finally, in 1908, the price made its last jump to 8 roubles, 40 kopeks, and it still remained at this figure when the monopoly was abolished. As the foregoing table shows, this did not diminish the consumption. It did, however, increase the profits. Economy in expenditures is another factor in

the increase of profits. Thus, in 1909, the net profit on one vedro of vodka was 6 roubles, 25 kopeks; in 1910, it was 6 roubles, 42 kopeks; and in 1911, 6 roubles, 52 kopeks.

The gross revenue from the vodka monopoly, since the year 1905, when the institution was established throughout the empire, is as stated below. The table also includes liquor revenue other than those from the monopoly:

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT LIQUOR REVENUE*

YEAR	MONOPOLY REVENUE	TAX REVENUE WHERE MONOPOLY WAS NOT INTRODUCED
1905	609,365,000	29,771,000
1906	697,504,000	39,394,000
1907	707,142,000	41,117,000
1908	709,003,000	39,054,000
1909	718,884,000	40,161,000
1910	767,032,000	44,015,000
1911	783,132,000	47,664,000
1912	824,692,000	48,899,000
1913	837,660,000	50,777,000
1914	935,805,000	54,660,000

It would be entirely incorrect to calculate the consumption of liquor in Russia either from the increase in profits or from the increase in the gross revenues from the sale of drink. The increase in the prices charged for the liquor accounts, in part, for the increased receipts, and this fact, together with the increased efficiency of administration, helps to explain the increased profits. Again, it would be highly improper to quote statistics of monopoly sales prior to 1906 as indicating the consumption of liquor in the Empire for the reason that it was not until then that the monopoly extended its operations to practically

*Kennard; *The Russian Year Book* for 1914.

the whole country, including the populous sections of Siberia. Because sales since that year were practically all made through the monopoly, statistics of sales from that time may properly be taken as to indicate the consumption. The following tabulation gives the monopoly sales for each year, in vedros,* since and including 1905:

SALES OF SPIRITS UNDER THE MONOPOLY†

YEAR	EUROPEAN RUSSIA	SIBERIA	TOTAL
1906	79,421,000	6,046,000	85,467,000
1907	80,938,000	5,937,000	86,875,000
1908	79,629,000	6,375,000	86,004,000
1909	77,918,000	6,403,000	84,321,000
1910	83,203,000	6,339,000	89,542,000
1911	85,462,000	6,188,000	91,650,000
1912	89,942,000	6,580,000	96,522,000
1913	91,200,000	6,300,000	97,500,000
1914	102,000,000	7,000,000	109,000,000

The statistics of the monopoly sales prior to the year 1905 are not interesting except as showing the growth of the monopoly. During this period, the institution was being gradually extended throughout the country. The following are the statistics of monopoly sales in its early years:

SALES OF THE SPIRIT MONOPOLY

YEAR	VEDROS	YEAR	VEDROS
1895	2,950,000	1898	31,113,000
1896	8,796,000	1902	62,977,000
1897	16,497,000	1904	70,312,000

It should be noted that most of the vodka sold by the monopoly is vodka of forty per cent proof spirit; that is, forty per cent alcoholic strength. To

*A vedro is equal to 3.249 American gallons.

†Kennard; *Russian Year Book* for 1914.

render this consumption in gallons, one must multiply by 2.7 to reduce the amount to Imperial or English gallons and multiply it by 3,249 to reduce it to American gallons. The monopoly sales for 1914 would therefore amount to 294,300,000 Imperial or 354,141,-reach America are in Imperial gallons, and accordingly somewhat misleading to the American reader.

Before the introduction of the monopoly, eighteen years ago, there were 2,090 distilleries in Russia. In 1912, the number had arisen to 2,983, an increase of 43 per cent. In the same year, the government owned and managed 26,016 retail establishments for the sale of the product. Besides this, there were 524 private refineries and branches.

The consumption of alcohol per capita in the different provinces varied from 0.25 vedro in the Siberian provinces to 0.98 vedro in the Lake Governments of Central Russia. The demand for vodka in towns and cities has been three and a third times greater than that in the country districts. As the manufacturing industries grow, and larger and larger numbers of rural population are drawn to the cities, the sale of alcoholic drinks bids fair to increase even more. The breaking up of the village communes facilitates this migration to the cities, and thus, indirectly, aids the alcohol trade.



And yet, it is true that

the number of vodka stores decreased. Thus, in 1911 there were 26,334 stores, 322 less than in 1910; while the figure for 1910 showed a decrease of 412, as compared with 1909. But at the same time, during 1910, the number of restaurants, licensed to sell alcoholic drinks, increased by 459 over the figure of the preceding year. Moreover, the number of violations of the monopoly law in 1910 was 82,432, an increase over 1909 of 15,714. During the same year, 65,211 unlicensed places of sale of alcoholic drinks were opened, an increase over the preceding year of over 12,000. The monopoly was by no means successful in stamping out the illicit traffic. On the contrary, it appeared to actually stimulate the unlicensed trade. The people resented the government's engaging in this traffic and forbidding the people to do the same.

It is interesting to note how different seasons of the year affect the consumption of alcoholic drinks. The following percentages are approximately averaged by months:

CONSUMPTION OF VODKA IN RUSSIA BY MONTHS

January	9.44 per cent	July	7.15 per cent
February	6.19 per cent	August	7.96 per cent
March	6.54 per cent	September	9.70 per cent
April	7.10 per cent	October	10.87 per cent
May	8.38 per cent	November	9.24 per cent
June	7.27 per cent	December	10.16 per cent

The minimum consumption is in the denial seasons, when Lent occurs. It increases toward the end of the year, reaching the maximum in October, (or September), when the crops of the year are realized. The heavy consumption in December and January is due to the fact that these months especially abound in holidays. In Russia drinking is considered an essential feature in celebrating a holiday.

As a French writer upon the subject of temperance (Dr. Marcou) remarked, there are fifty-two Sundays and an incalculable number of holidays during the year in Russia, and all these are signalized by a liberal patronage of the monopoly liquor shops.

Dr. N. Grigoriev, editor of *Viestnik Tresvosti*, the temperance monthly of Petrograd, compiles for me a series of statistics from government sources in an attempt to survey the per capita consumption of vodka for the past half century. They are interesting as showing the fluctuation of the drink under various changes in economic conditions. The following table shows the total and per capita consumption of vodka in Russia from the inauguration of the law of Alexander II., which went into effect on January 1, 1863, down to the formation of the monopoly:

CONSUMPTION OF VODKA IN RUSSIA IN VEDROS

YEAR	VEDROS	VEDROS PER CAPITA	YEAR	VEDROS	VEDROS PER CAPITA
1863	90,100,000	1.23	1879	78,900,000	.83
1864	62,600,000	.84	1880	76,000,000	.78
1865	69,600,000	.93	1881	74,000,000	.74
1866	67,700,000	.88	1882	73,400,000	.72
1867	70,500,000	.88	1883	74,500,000	.71
1868	71,200,000	.87	1884	70,000,000	.66
1869	74,200,000	.89	1885	66,600,000	.61
1870	72,300,000	.86	1886	64,000,000	.58
1871	76,300,000	.89	1887	66,000,000	.58
1872	76,400,000	.88	1888	66,800,000	.58
1873	76,000,000	.87	1889	66,200,000	.57
1874	71,500,000	.80	1890	62,700,000	.53
1875	70,000,000	.78	1891	58,400,000	.49
1876	67,300,000	.74	1892	59,400,000	.49
1877	66,300,000	.72	1893	59,100,000	.49
1878	73,300,000	.79	1894	64,000,000	.52

Russian statistics are not kept with the same exactness as are those of Germany, Italy, Scandinavia,



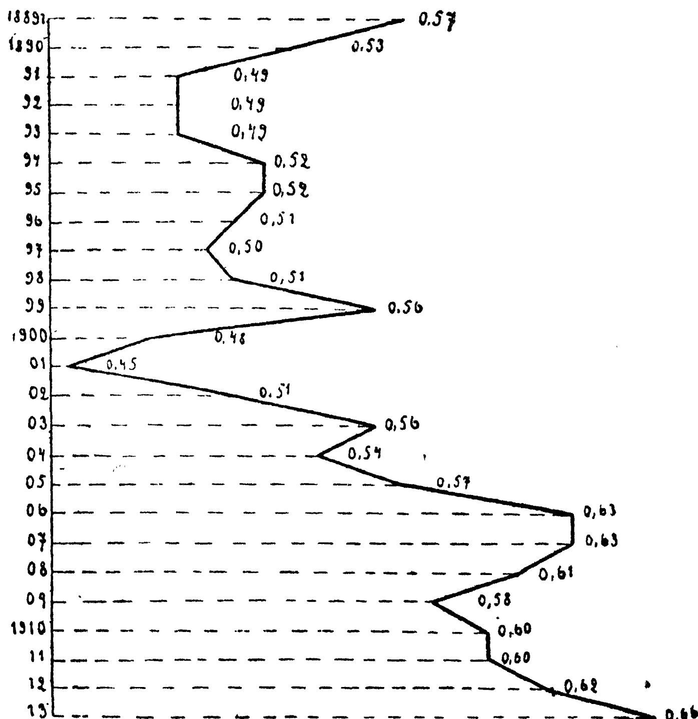
MILKMAIDS OF KIEV

ONE OF THE STRANGE THINGS TO BE SEEN IN KIEV, THE "HOLY CITY" OF RUSSIA, IS THE MILKMAIDS BRINGING MILK INTO THE CITY IN EARTHEN JARS, IN THE MORNING. KIEV IS A CITY OF ABOUT 319,000 POPULATION, THE SEAT OF A UNIVERSITY. THERE IS LOCATED ST. SOPHIA'S CATHEDRAL, IN WHICH ARE THE BONES OF VLADIMIR THE SAINT, WHO HAD NEARLY A THOUSAND WIVES, AND REFUSED TO BE CONVERTED TO ISLAM BECAUSE THE RELIGION FORBADE WINE. AFTER THE MILKMAIDS AND VEGETABLE MEN COME AND GO IN THE MORNING, THERE APPEAR ON THE STREETS A MEDLEY OF SHOP MEN, OFFICIALS, STUDENTS, ECCLESIASTICS AND NOBLEMEN. THERE ARE MANY LANDED GENTLEMEN IN THE REGION OF KIEV WHO SPEND MUCH OF THEIR TIME IN PETROGRAD. THE PEOPLE OF KIEV INSIST THAT IT WAS THERE AND NOT AT NOVGOROD WHERE THE REAL RUSSIAN NATION HAD ITS BIRTH.



or Great Britain, except as to finances. Russian vital and other statistics abound in discrepancies, which are always encountered when one begins to probe them. The statistics compiled by the different departments and different authorities do not always agree, but, for the purpose of comparison, they can be relied upon approximately. Dr. Grigoriev's computations of the

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL IN RUSSIA PER CAPITA DURING THE LAST 25 YEARS, IN HUNDREDTHS OF VEDRO.*



* From *Monthly Magazine,* Petrograd.

consumption of vodka since the establishment of the monopoly are given herewith:

CONSUMPTION OF VODKA IN RUSSIA UNDER THE MONOPOLY

YEAR	VEDROS	PER CAPITA	PROVINCES WHERE MONOPOLY WAS IN FORCE	NUMBER VODKA SHOPS
1895	64,900,000	.52	4	3,940
1896	64,000,000	.51	13	16,577
1897	62,800,000	.50	20	20,158
1898	64,300,000	.50	35	26,896
1899	70,300,000	.54	35	25,441
1900	69,600,000	.52	43	28,873
1901	65,800,000	.49	64	38,423
1902	67,000,000	.49	71	41,132
1903	72,000,000	.52	71	41,458
1904	72,200,000	.51	75	42,261
1905	76,000,000	.53	75	42,342
1906	86,500,000	.60	75	43,155
1907	88,000,000	.59	75	45,798
1908	87,200,000	.57	75	48,327
1909	85,800,000	.55	75	49,473
1910	90,000,000	.56	75	49,517
1911	92,600,000	.56	75	49,915
1912	96,500,000	.62	75	

The monopoly system was theoretically accompanied by temperance efforts. Temperance committees were to be formed to discourage drinking and these committees, to some extent, were subsidized by small appropriations from the vodka profits. Where any real efforts were made to discourage drinking, there was reported a falling off of drunkenness after the advent of the monopoly. These temperance committees usually consisted of twenty-two members for each district. These twenty-two were more or less officially connected with the government, and were generally too busy to do anything for temperance. If

they did become active, it was at the risk of coming into collision with other monopoly government officials, whose welfare depended on the amount of liquor that they sold. Russian officials as well as others know the advantage of preserving friendly relations with other government officers. To use Mr. Kennan's application of a Russian proverb, these committees were like "the seven nurses" under whose care "the child loses its eyes." In some cases, the temperance committee did really valuable work. This situation sufficiently explains why the consumption of liquor and drunkenness decreased in some localities while it increased in so many others.

In Petrograd, there was a considerable temperance activity, chiefly by private societies and individual organizations, however, rather than by any agents of the monopoly. These activities became quite extensive beginning with the year 1898. Mr. Nicholas de Cramer, member of the Imperial Council, and one of the principal temperance leaders in the Empire, compiled for me a tabulation showing the per capita consumption of vodka in Petrograd since the temperance activities got under way in 1898:

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF VODKA IN PETROGRAD

YEAR	VEDROS	YEAR	VEDROS
1898	2.25	1906	1.85
1899	2.21	1907	1.80
1900	2.12	1908	1.70
1901	2.03	1909	1.57
1902	1.95	1910	1.57
1903	1.85	1911	1.72
1904	1.83	1912	1.75
1905	1.84		

By an examination of a preceding table,* it is shown that, while the per capita consumption of vodka

throughout the Empire has fluctuated, the tendency for a number of years has been upward. If, therefore, the record for Petrograd and certain other places has shown a decrease, then the balance of the country must record a marked increase in order to equalize the statistics. If the per capita consumption decreases in a great city like Petrograd, how much more must the per capita consumption increase in other sections in order to make the whole Empire show an increase?



CHAPTER VIII.

RUSSIAN DRINKING CONDITIONS



IT is one of the ironies of fate that the outrageous drinking practices of Russian life are, and for a thousand years have been, largely associated with sacred things. The Russian calendar is strewn with numerous saints' days, feast days and holidays of a religious character. It is then that drunkenness unrestrained runs riot. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that government statistics actually show a larger increase in the consumption of vodka during those months in which religious holidays are most frequent. My personal observations confirm what is recorded by nearly every writer on Russian affairs, that the holidays of Russia are days of widespread drunkenness. Recorded accounts of outrages, debaucheries, assaults, fires, murders and frightful cruelties visited upon the innocent in connection with holiday debaucheries compete with the narratives of the bloody orgies of Ivan the Terrible in their shocking effects upon the human sensibilities.

The drink traffic among the Slavs has always centered around certain social institutions corresponding to the American saloon, the British public house and the Continental cafe. The *kabak* first appeared in Russia early in the sixteenth century. It was a place where drinks only were sold, a drinking place pure and simple. The institution and also the word itself is of Tartar origin. When he returned to Moscow

from a siege in Kasan, Ivan the Terrible forbade the sale of alcoholic drinks, and permitted only his close friends and counsellors to drink it. For this close circle of privileged persons he built a special drinking house, which was called the *Kabak*. This drinking place, thus established by the Russian Tsar, is the ancestor of the thousands of similar places that, until recently, were scattered like a network all over Russia. It is indeed fitting that the institution of the *kabak* in Russia was accomplished by the most bloodthirsty monster in all the history of that people. Ivan's prohibition was of short duration. The first *kabak* was established in 1552. A hundred years later there were approximately one thousand *kabaks*.

With the incoming of the various schemes of government regulation, excise restrictions and, later, the monopoly systems, there came the cheap restaurant where food also was sold in connection with the drink. These took the name traktirs. The *kabak* does not appear in Russia at the present period. The traktir became the chief center of drunkenness. The chief intoxicant is a distilled spirit called vodka, made from potatoes or grain, chiefly rye. It is the same as the American whisky without the coloring matter. In fact, it is not quite as high in alcoholic strength as the whisky. Vodka is of only 40 per cent alcoholic strength, while whisky is usually about 50. *Pevo* is nothing but lager beer. *Braga* is a sort of a homemade beer of low alcoholic strength. Kvass is a very weak fermented beverage, usually made of dry *chorny khleb,* a black bread made of the whole grain of rye without yeast. Outside of the feast day drunken carousals, kvass is the beverage par excellence of the Russian peasant. The usual method of making it is to put a pailful of water into an earthen vessel,

and shake into this two pounds of barley meal, or dried *chorny khleb,* half a pound of salt, and some honey, more or less according to the wealth of the family. This is first stirred and then placed in the evening in the oven with a moderate fire. In the morning it is left for a time to settle and ferment; the clear liquid is then poured off, and it is ready to drink in a few days. Sometimes the kvass is made of the juice of cranberries, apples or other fruit, and it then corresponds to the American cider or home-made wine. Drunkenness arises chiefly from the vodka, and, in a lesser degree, from the *pevo.* The *pevo* is not much drunk by the lower classes. Like the American Indian, the mujik wants something that will "bring the drunk." The village spirit shop is known as the *lavka.* Outside of alcoholics, tea is the great national drink. It is made in a samovar, which is not a teapot but a tea urn, warmed from within by hot charcoal. The tea is served in a glass, usually with sugar and lemon, but without milk. The tea house is much used for the illicit sale of liquor. The waiter will run to the nearest government liquor shop and return with a teapot full of vodka.

Tsar Vasili Ivanovich (1505-32), son of Ivan the Great and father of Ivan the Terrible, gave permission to some of his courtiers to drink at any time and as much as they chose. But, in order that their habits might not corrupt the people, the drinkers were segregated and compelled to live apart in a special suburb on the south side of the river at Moscow. These people became known as the *nali,* or the "drinkers."

The prohibition of Ivan the Terrible (*supra*) was short lived. It was but the passing whim of a cruel tyrant. Russia at this period went through a long

series of famines. Ivan kept a large standing army for the defense of his empire and, for the upkeep thereof, he resorted to all kinds of extortion upon his subjects, who starved and cringed in holes and crannies to escape the knout, the rack, the stake and the wheel of torture. One of Ivan's schemes to produce revenue was the establishment of these public *kabaks* for the sale of vodka, where the people were compelled to resort to drink the fiery liquor and spend their earnings. For had not St. Vladimir already written, "*Roussi vesscle peetee: nec mojet bez tavo byt.*" (Russia's joy is drink: she cannot exist without it.") And was it not Vasili (Buslaevich), the hero drunkard, who stood in blood up to his knees on the Volkhof bridge, holding in check all the mujiks of Novgorod, and thus saved Russia? Anthony Jenkinson, an English adventurer and trader living in Moscow in time of Ivan IV., wrote:

"At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunk away their children and all their goods at the Tsar's tavern, and not being able to pay, having pawned himself, the taverner bringeth him out to the highway and beates him upon the legs; then they that pass by, knowing the cause and preadventure, having compassion upon him, giveth the money, so he is ransomed."*

The privilege of running the tavern was let out by the Tsar to some tenant or was bestowed upon some courtier for a year or two at a time. In case the liquor dealer prospered, he found himself in trouble. Jenkinson tells us that "then, he being grown rich, is taken by the Tsar and sent to the warres again, where he shall spend all that he has gotten by ill means, so that the Tsar in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth upon the poor people." In addition

*Quoted by Gerrare, *Story of Moscow,* p. 236.

to the drinking of brandy, Jenkinson further tells us that the Muscovites had "many sortes of meates, and delight in eating gross meates and stinking fish." Kennard,* quoting an account of the social customs of the period (1551), states that at the church feasts men and women, boys and girls, spent the night in some out-of-the-way spot, dancing, singing, indulging in every form of sensual excess, and "when dawn came, they ran shouting like mad folk down to the river, where they all bathed together, and when the bell rang for matins they went back to their houses, and there fell down like dead people of sheer exhaustion."

Ivan's character was a strange compound of greatness and barbarism. He cemented Russia into a nation, which had not been accomplished before. Cruel, dissolute, superstitious, he yielded to the most shameful excesses, and then, covered with monkish garments, he would lead a pious procession. After his greatest slaughters, he would pray for the souls of his victims. In the face of his schemes for vodka revenue, he writes a scolding letter to the monks of St. Cyril, saying, "Beyond the monastery there is a house filled with provisions. Some say that strong drinks are beginning to be smuggled into the cell of Scheremetief. Now, in monasteries, it is against the rules to have foreign wines; how much more, then, strong liquors?"†

The times of Peter the Great (1682-1725) was a period of great activity and also a period of much drunkenness. Peter himself was a prodigious drinker. He was a man of much the type of Prince Bismarck,

*_Russian Peasant,_ p. 165.

†Quoted by Rambaud, Vol. I., p. 288.

drank heavily like Bismarck, and deplored drink, as did the great German. He established what he called the "most drunken collegium," or the "most drunken conclave," of which he was the head and in which he and his friends rendered due honors to the god Bacchus. Means of punishment at these feasts for some infractions of the rules was that the guilty man was compelled to drain a huge goblet nicknamed "the great Eagle." One such goblet was sufficient to render an ordinary man senseless. According to his own words, Peter drank thirty-six glasses of wine at the celebration held in honor of the capture of Revel. Peter's Chief Admiral, Apraksin, used to boast that he had drunk, upon one occasion, one hundred and eighty glasses of wine in three days.* Rambaud, recognized as a very careful and conservative writer, gives a most graphic and almost unbelievable description of one of these affairs of Peter. He writes:

"The assemblies of Peter the Great were at first only a parody of those of Versailles. Bergholtz, a German who came in the train of the Duke of Holstein in seventeen hundred and twenty-one, complains that men allowed themselves to smoke in the presence of ladies; that the ladies sat apart, embarrassed in their unwonted attire, silently watching each other; that the nobles were often carried away in a state of drunkenness by their drunken lackeys. Did not Peter himself institute as a punishment for any breach of good behavior the emptying of the "great eagle," a huge goblet filled with brandy? To amuse the new society and give life to his capital, he instituted masquerades, cavalcades of disguised lords and ladies, the feast of fools, the Great Conclave, presided over by the "Prince-pope," his former tutor, the aged Zotof, who was dressed in crimson velvet trimmed with ermine. At his feet sat a Bacchus riding on a cask, with a rummer in one hand and a drinking vessel in the other. He was surrounded by intoxicated cardinals, among whom were to be found noblemen, princes, acting-governors, and sometimes the Tsar himself. The procession would pass

*_Sovremennaya Illustratzia_ (Petrograd), Jan. 29, 1915.

along the street followed by a sledge harnessed to four huge hogs, driven by a gentleman of rank. Then a court jester, dressed as Neptune, with crown, long white beard, and trident, would come sitting in a sort of mussel shell, accompanied by two sirens. Then a throng of sledges arranged with sails like boats, and commanded by the Admiral or the Tsar. Bergholtz describes the launching of a ship which took place in July, seventeen hundred and twenty-one. The Tsar, the Prince-pope and all his cardinals, the senators, and a large number of the first men of the empire were present. No one was allowed to leave the ship until word was given. 'Almost all were drunk, and yet they desired still more, until their powers were exhausted. The great Admiral was so full that he wept like a child, which is said to be a habit of his when he takes too much. The Prince, Menshikov, was so intoxicated that he fell dead drunk,' and was taken home by his servants. 'The Prince of Moldavia was quarreling with the *oberpolitseimeister;* here a couple were fighting, there another couple were drinking, and swearing everlasting brotherhood and fidelity.' Peter forbade the use of servile diminutives and prostrations before the Tsar, and by blows with his cane he taught his nobility to feel themselves free men and Europeans."*

Peter conquered the swamps on which he built Petrograd, and greatly enlarged the boundaries of his Empire, but he, in turn, was conquered by drink. Rambaud thus describes the end of Peter the Great:

"His health was broken by his toils and his excesses, and he no longer took any care of himself. On the twenty-seventh of October, seventeen hundred and twenty-four, he flung himself into icy water up to his waist to save a boat in distress; he began to feel the first symptoms of illness, but he recovered, and in January he again instituted the election of a Prince-pope. Buturlin, who had taken the place of Zotof in this office had just died, and a new Conclave of Cardinals was assembled. Peter, as usual, drank to excess. In the 'benediction of the waters' he caught a fresh cold, and died on the twenty-eighth of January, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, without being able either to speak or write his last wishes. He was then only fifty-three years of age.

**History of Russia,* Vol. II., pp. 84, 85.

"He was, above all, a man of war, marked as such by his tall figure, his robust limbs, his nervous and sanguine temperament, and his strong arm, as strong as a blacksmith's. His life was a struggle with the forces of the past, with the ignorant nobles, with the fanatical clergy, with the people who plumed themselves on their barbarism and nation isolation, with the Cossack and Strelits, representative of the old superstition. This combat, which shook Russia and the world, he found repeated in his own family. It began with his sister, Sophia, and continued with his wife, Evdokia, and his son, Alexis. Entirely given up to his terrible task, Peter all his life disdained pomp, luxury and every kind of display. The first Emperor of Russia, the founder of Petrograd, forgot to build himself a palace; his favorite residence of Peterhof is like a villa of a well-to-do citizen of Saandam. His table is frugal, and what he sought in his orgies of beer or brandy was a stimulant or a distraction."*

Anna (1730-40) showed some symptoms of revolt at the dissolute excesses of the court under Peter I. and his successors. She would not allow a drunken person in her sight. Prince Kurakin alone had permission to drink as much as he wished. But, in order not to do away entirely with such a pretty custom, January twenty-ninth, the anniversary of the Empress' coronation, was devoted to Bacchus. On this day every courtier was expected to kneel before the Empress and drain a monstrous glass filled with Hungarian wine.† The reign of Elizabeth (1741-62) was characterized by increased zeal for the orthodox religion. She suppressed the Armenian churches in the two capitals, revived the laws of Peter I. against people who talked in church, confiscated tobacco pouches found in church, forbade public baths common to men and women in large towns and repressed with stripes and chains drunkenness among priests. Personally she was weak and of dissolute manners.

*Rambaud; *History of Russia,* Vol. II., pp. 124, 125.

†*Memoirs of Manstein,* quoted by Rambaud, Vol. II., p. 142.

Rambaud thus describes certain phases of her reign:

"Legislation became less severe. Elizabeth imagined that she had abolished the penalty of death, but the knout of her executioners killed as well as the axe. Those who survived flagellation were sent, with their nose or ears cut, to the public works. Torture was employed only in the gravest cases. It is estimated that during her reign more than eighty thousand were knouted or sent to Siberia. But if the civil code did not advance, a code of procedure and a code of criminal investigation were completed. The police had hard work to maintain even a show of order in this rude society. The government was powerless to stop brigandage on the great highways, pirates still captured ships on the Volga, and armed bands gave battle to regular troops. Moscow and Petrograd were like woods of ill-fame. Thieves had lost none of their audacity, and one of them, Vanka Kain the Russian Cartouche, is the hero of a whole cycle of songs. Edicts were promulgated to prevent the keeping of bears in the capitals, and to hinder them from being allowed to roam at night through the towns of the provinces.*

Elizabeth's son, who ruled as Peter III. (1762-68), was half-witted and a confirmed drunkard. He was a great admirer of Germany and ceded back to that country all that his mother had won from her in war. At a great dinner, given in honor of the conclusion of the treaty, he caused consternation by proposing a toast to the health of the King of Prussia, in which he declared in a half drunken manner: "Let us drink to the health of the King our master; he has done me the honour to confide to me one of his regiments. I hope he will not dismiss me; you may be assured that if he should order it, I would make war on hell with all my Empire."

Russian society had become sufficiently civilized to look upon the gross habits of Peter with some disgust. "The life led by the Emperor," wrote the French ambassador, De Breteuil, "is shameful. He

History of Russia, Vol. II., p. 168.

smokes and drinks beer for hours together, and only ceases from these amusements at five or six in the morning, when he is dead drunk. . . . He has redoubled his attentions towards Mademoiselle Vorontsov. One must allow that it is a strange taste; she has no wit; and as to her face, it is impossible to imagine anything uglier; she resembles in every way a servant at a low inn." Peter ended his career by being killed in a palace row by Alexis Orlov in July, 1762.*

It is idle to think that such a condition among the ruling class would not be reflected in the lives of the people. Even the great Tourgeniev, a generation ago, wrote in his *Virgin Soil,* "Everything sleeps in Russia, in village and city—officers, soldiers, merchants, judges, fathers, children—all are asleep. Only the drink shop sleeps not, saturating Holy Russia with drink." Again he records, "and clasping in her hands a bottle of strong vodka, her forehead at the Pole, her heels upon the Caucasus, sleeps, in heavy stupor, our fatherland, Holy Russia." Ravaged by every imaginable scourge, by an autocratic rule, cholera, famine, pogroms, chronic famine, Russia found her only "joy in drink." The peasant drank himself into a headache, and then drank more liquor to cure the headache. Indeed, the accepted remedy for a headache acquired in this manner was more vodka with a piece of pickled herring.† Except on holidays, the peasant contented himself with being merely tipsy, but, on the day of some saint, he would drink himself senseless. My first day in Petrograd was a saint's day, and I

*Baring; *The Russian People,* p. 171. Bilbasov; *History of Catherine II.,* Vol. II., p. 127.

†Baring; *The Russian People,* p. 59.

personally witnessed half a dozen mujiks drop down senseless on the sidewalks.

The ignorant peasant, in his chronic, hereditary superstition, peoples the air and woods with demons,* as if he was not already supplied sufficiently with troubles. One demon, the *Polevoi*, the field demon, is a particular pest of drunkards. He takes the form of a man dressed in white. His body is black and his eyes are of various colors. Instead of hair his head is clothed in green grass. The *Polevoi* is generally docile, but sometimes becomes dangerous, creeping upon the sleeping peasant lying drunk in the fields to strangle him. If the agricultural tools don't work, if the soil is too hard or if anything in the field goes wrong, it is the *Polevoi*. "I have seen an intoxicated mujik, before lying down to sleep in the field, place a bottle full of vodka by his side, and, with the words, "*Vot dlia tebya, Polevoi!*" ("There! that's for you, *Polevoi!*"), "sink to slumber," writes Dr. Kennard.†

There are certain phases of Russian peasant life that should be described, but I am fearful to use my own words lest I may be accused of permitting Ameri-

*Dr. Kennard, in his *Russian Peasant*, gives the following list of demons, household and otherwise, and a sketch of the characteristics of each:

Household demon or *Domovoi*.
Farmyard demon or *Domovoi dvaroff*.
Bath demon or *Bannik*.
Barn demon or *Ovennik*.
Hole demon or *Keekeemona*.
Wood demon or *Leshi*.
Field demon or *Polevoi*.
Water Demons, demon or *Vodianoi*.
Water Fairies, demon or *Roussalki*.
Incarnations (substitutes) *Oborotni*.

†*Russian Peasant*, p. 70.

can imagination to get the better of me. The truth is so unnatural, so extreme in its character, so abhorrent, that, instead of speaking for myself, I will call in as witnesses some of the most conservative writers on Russian affairs. Not one of them is a radical, and each work quoted circulates freely throughout Russia. Let Maurice Baring, editor of the *Russian Review* and member of the Liverpool School of Russian Studies, describe a peasant wedding and peasant recruiting for the army:

"The Russian peasant marries young. The courtship takes place in the spring, and the wedding in the autumn. The wedding is the occasion for a great feast, lasting generally three days. The bridegroom and his friends walk about in the village playing accordions and drinking vodka in different houses, and throwing sugar to the children. If possible he will get horses to drive him to church. The night before the wedding there will probably be a dance, which will last all night. Weddings are the chief festivals and merry-makings in the life of the Russian peasant. Another cause of merry-making is the departure of recruits. In the autumn a military deputation arrives at a village, and the recruits are chosen by lot. About thirty per cent of the male population is taken. Only sons are excused, the sole worker in a family, schoolmasters, and priests, and there are other exceptions. The men who are chosen spend the time which elapses between their enlistment and their departure in merry-making. They get drunk nearly every day. They walk about the village playing accordions. They are generally glad to go, and their parents are nearly always glad to get rid of them."*

Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, K. C. V. O., one of the most thoroughly informed writers on Russian subjects, thus describes a feast in honor of some saint:

"To celebrate a parish fete in true orthodox fashion it is necessary to prepare beforehand a large quantity of *braga*—a kind of home-brewed small beer—and to bake a plentiful supply of piroghi or pies. Oil, too, has to be procured, and vodka in

*Baring; *The Russian People,* pp. 66, 67.



INTERIOR OF A SIBERIAN (MINUSINSK TRIBE) HOME. NOTICE THE EVER-PRESENT LIQUOR BOTTLES ON THE TOP SHELF



RUSSIAN NATIONAL TYPE

goodly quantity. At the same time the big room of the *izba*, as the peasant's house is called, has to be cleared, the floor washed, and the table and benches scrubbed. The evening before the fete, while the piroghi are being baked, a little lamp burns before the *Icon* in the corner of the room, and perhaps one or two guests from a distance arrive in order that they may have on the morrow a full day's enjoyment.

"On the morning of the fete the proceedings begin by a long service in the church, at which all the inhabitants are present in their best holiday costumes, except those matrons and young women who remain at home to prepare the dinner. About mid-day dinner is served in each *izba* for the family and their friends. In general the Russian peasant's fare is of the simplest kind, and rarely comprises animal food of any sort—not from any vegetarian proclivities, but merely because beef, mutton, and pork are too expensive; but on a holiday, such as a parish fete, there is always on the dinner-table a considerable variety of dishes. In the house of a well-to-do peasant there will be not only greasy cabbage-soup and kasha—a dish made from buckwheat—but also pork, mutton, and perhaps even beef. *Braga* will be supplied in unlimited quantities, and more than once vodka will be handed around. When the repast is finished, all rise together, and, turning towards the ikon in the corner, bow and cross themselves repeatedly. The guests then say to their host, '*Spasibo za khleb za sol*'—that is to say, 'Thanks for your hospitality,' or more literally, 'Thanks for bread and salt;' and the host replies, 'Do not be displeased, sit down once more for good luck'—or perhaps he puts the last part of his request into form of a rhyming couplet to the following effect: 'Sit down, that the hens may brood, and that the chickens and the bees may multiply!' All obey his request, and there is another round of vodka.

"After dinner some stroll about, chatting with their friends, or go to sleep in some shady nook, whilst those who wish to make merry go to the spot where the young people are singing, playing, and amusing themselves in various ways. As the sun sinks towards the horizon, the more grave, staid guests wend their way homewards, but many remain for supper; and as evening advances the effects of the vodka become more and more apparent. Sounds of revelry are heard more frequently from the houses, and a large proportion of the inhabitants and guests appear on the road in various degrees of intoxication. Some of those vow eternal affection to their friends, or with flaccid

gestures and in incoherent tones harangue invisible audiences; others stagger about aimlessly in besotted self-contentment, till they drop down in a state of complete unconsciousness. There they lie tranquilly till they are picked up by their less intoxicated friends, or more probably till they awake of their own accord on the next morning."*

We will let Dr. Howard P. Kennard, editor of the standard *Russian Year Book,* described the Feast of Masslenitsa or "Butter week" preceding the great feast of Lent. He writes:

"On Friday night all go to bed early to prepare for the two final and most important days of the feast—Saturday and Sunday. On these two days, feasting, driving, dancing, and drinking—especially the latter—reach their height, the amount of vodka consumed being enormous. The peasants dance, sing, and drink, and then drive madly through the village, returning again only to quench their apparently inexhaustible thirst. Every *izba* has its table laid with vodka and provisions, and every one is free to enter and imbibe to the full, to his heart's content.

"On Sunday night the orgy approaches to its extreme height. All form circles, and dance and drink, drink and dance, till as midnight approaches King Vodka reigns supreme. Many are too intoxicated to do anything but roll helplessly and idiotically about, embracing all and sundry, the while they shout *'Slava Bogoo'* ('God be praised'), and kiss one another frantically, swearing eternal friendships, finally endeavoring to dance a jig, and falling inert masses of human flesh, sans thought, sans sight, sans tout, into the snow, whence they are dragged either by comrades less drunk, or else by their female relatives, who, as a general rule, do not partake to such excess.

"At 11:30 the church bell is tolled by the priest as a warning to his flock that the end of the feast is near. Previous to this has the bell been tolled at 5 p. m., and I can vouch for it that the flock answered to the warning note pealed by the priest with a will, drinking deeper, deeper, deeper, and becoming more wildly excited at the thought that but a few hours remain. But from 11:30 p. m., when the bell began tolling, and continues to toll till midnight, when it ends abruptly, the orchestra of the Holy Church, as it were, playing for Bacchus and the devil, the scene absolutely beggars description. Pandemonium reigns, and

*Wallace; *Russia,* Vol. I., pp 150, 151. Edition of 1878.

all thoughts of morality, or propriety, or decorum, are thrown broadcast to the winds. All give themselves up to an unbridled bestial orgy, till clang, clang, clang goes the big bell, tolling the hour of 12, the hour ordained by the Church for the feast to cease, and with it gaiety, the dancing, the drinking—all.

"From that moment till Easter, seven long weeks, must the peasant fast. Flesh, fowl, milk, eggs, butter, sugar and in the last week and on every Wednesday and Friday even fish is denied him; but this is not really of such great significance, seeing that his means will not, as a rule, permit him to purchase it. Those who are very strict practice total abstinence during the three days previous to Easter Day. All drinks except water are forbidden"*

Referring to conditions during an earlier period, that of the Muscovite Rennaissance, Alfred Rambaud, Chief of the Cabinet of Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts of Paris, and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Petrograd, writes:

"Owing to the general ignorance, there was no intellectual life in Russia; owing to the seclusion of women, there was no society. Compared with the gallant and witty society of Poland, Russia seems a vast monastery. The devil lost nothing in the long run. The nobles, living in the midst of slaves subjected to their caprices, degraded themselves while they degraded their victims. Debauchery and drunkenness were the national sins. Rich and poor, young and old, women and children, often dropped down dead drunk in the streets, without surprising any one. The priests, in their visits to their sheep, got theologically drunk. 'Even at the houses of the great lords,' says M. Zabielin, 'no feast was gay and joyous unless every one was drunk. It was precisely in drunkenness that the gayety consisted. The guests were never gay if they were not drunk.' To this very day, 'to be merry' signifies to have been drinking. The preachers, even, while attacking the national vice, touched it delicately. 'My brothers,' says one of them, 'what is worse than drunkenness? You lose memory and reason, like a madman, who knows not what he does. Is this mirth, my friends, mirth according to the law and glory of God? The drunkard is senseless. He lies like a corpse. If

*Kennard; *The Russian Peasant*, pp. 87-9.

you speak to him, he grunts like a brute. He foams, he stinks, he grunts like a brute. Think of his poor soul which grows foul in its vile body, which is its prison. Drunkenness sends our guardian angels away and makes the devil merry. To be drunk, is to perform sacrifices to Satan. The devil rejoices, and says: 'No; the sacrifices of the pagans never caused me half so much joy and happiness as the intoxication of a Christian.' Fly, then, my brothers, the curse of drunkenness. To drink is lawful, and is to the glory of God, who has given us wine to make us rejoice. The Fathers were far from forbidding wine, but we must never drink ourselves drunk.'"*

Current writers on Russian affairs, who have penetrated into the rural districts, frequently note being within "smelling distance" of a Russian village. The village is a collection of peasant homes. Let Dr. Kennard describe the average Russian *izba*:

"We have said before that there is no chimney in the ordinary *izba*. The steam, as shown above, finds vent within, and the wretched inmates not only wallow like pigs in this pestilential atmosphere, blended of the excretory putrescences exhaled from the bodies of men and animals—for there lies a pig, and yet again fowls—but he actually utilizes it at times for the purpose of a vapor bath. He loves this vapor-laden condition—he has been brought up on it; it is to him as the breezes of the hills and dales are to the hardy Scot, and he would be lost without it. It breeds a sense of cozy well-being in him. One can say, without the slightest exaggeration, that he loves this foul-smelling, nauseating hell far better than the limitless expanse of fresh air outside. He is part and parcel of his own filth-sodden *izba*.

"The stove, besides acting the part of vapor and warmth producer, is used as a kitchener, in which everything is cooked, and as a sort of open wardrobe on which everything is laid to keep warm. Further, it is used as a public bed for the family, for on the top of this sleep during the night, and frequently during the long winter days, men, women, and children—as many as can crowd on its broad, accommodating surface. Here they congregate in a huddled mass—man with wife, brother with sister, and as often as not a son will marry and

*Rambaud's *History of Russia*, Vol I., pp. 297, 298.

escort his spouse to the top of the self-same stove, there to take her place among her newly found relatives, and add yet one more human item to the already overcrowded *izba*. Pigs, lambs, fowls, lie where they may, and all are covered with loathsome parasites of varied breed, of which the peasant takes not the faintest notice. Custom has inured him to their attacks, and so the disgusting reptiles live their life unimpeded year in, year out. Fresh air there is none, except occasionally admitted throughout the outside door, and 'filtered' through the comparative purity of the outside room."*

In Siberia, conditions similar to those in European Russia prevail, but are complicated by local peculiarities. The convict population and the native tribes injected new factors into the situation there. In 1894, there were 18 distilleries and 22 breweries in Western Siberia, and 16 distilleries and 9 breweries in Eastern Siberia. In the Amur district, there were one distillery and sixteen breweries. These did not supply the demand and considerable quantities of wines and strong liquors were imported, chiefly through Odessa and Vladivostock. The vodka traffic fell largely into the hands of one Kosiello Poklevsky, who became known as the "Vodka King." Vodka played the principal part in trade with the natives. On saints' days and saints' Mondays, the working men in the mines, as well as the peasants, would pour their earnings down their throats. The peasants of Minusinsk are said to have consumed vodka to the extent of more than a million roubles during the year 1896. Usury and all sorts of evils followed in the wake of these practices. Official statistics show that the average interest on loans in Irkutsk amounted to 5 per cent per month and occasionally as much as 200 per cent per annum. Mr. J. Stadling, who was sent to the delta of the Lena by the Swedish govern-

*Kennard; *Russian Peasant*, pp. 30, 31.

ment, to search for traces of the lost explorer Andree, gives this glimpse into drinking conditions in the Yakut country:

"At one of these stations I witnessed a touching scene. It was the home of one of the boys who accompanied us as rowers. His parents seemed to be above the average with regard to intelligence and cleanliness. When we were about to leave, I overheard the mother seriously talking to her son in a half-whispering tone. Understanding very little of the Yakut language, I asked our interpreter—a Cossack officer, who stood by me—what she was saying. Somewhat reluctantly he explained that the good mother was warning her son that he 'should be on the watch against the evil ways of the Russian.' At the very next station I had an opportunity of observing that this warning of the heathen mother against the evils ways of Christians was not superfluous, for here we found all the natives dead drunk, one of the 'Christian' Russians having recently been there selling vodka to the poor people.

"Besides the great harm which liquor does among the natives, there is the evil influence of criminals to be reckoned with, the worst class of whom are let loose among these innocent people, who have to keep them in their homes. These unwelcome 'guests' of course invariably play the parts of masters, demoralizing both young and old, and not seldom both morally and physically ruining the girls."*

From time to time sporadic attempts have been made to alleviate these conditions, but the appalling proportions of the problem and the mountains of difficulty lying in the way made such efforts appear hopeless. The Orthodox church was splendidly organized and equipped, but both the church and the people were so thoroughly inoculated with the idea that religion had to do with belief and form rather than with conduct that the church was of little or no avail as a remedial agent. The natural sympathies of the people were directed to rescuing victims of the vodka rather than to shutting off the causes of the great deluge of

*Stadling; *Through Siberia*, p. 152.

national misery. In the year 1652, a conclave was assembled to discuss the liquor problem under the rule of Alexis (1645-76), second Tsar of the Romanov dynasty. It was a serious attempt and it was decided that there should be thereafter but one liquor shop in each large city and none whatever in the smaller ones. Under the support of Alexis, this policy was continued for eleven years, but the government revenues were so affected that the temperance policy was abandoned.

The alcoholic practices of the people and serfdom developed side by side, and drink excess reached its climax at the same time that serfdom was most widely established, in the two decades previous to the emancipation by Alexander II. in 1862. It was during this period that desultory attempts were made to accomplish better conditions as to drink. As early as 1834, some temperance publications, obtained from America, were translated and published in Russian, Lettish, Esthonian and the Finnish languages. This undertaking was that of an American residing in Russia whose name I have been unable to obtain. In October, 1840, another American, Robert Baird, visited Russia, had an interview with Tsar Nicholas, who promised to have translated into Russian Baird's *History of the Temperance Societies in America.* Ten thousand copies of the Russian translation were printed, and 5,000 of the Finnish. In this same year, at Hoffungsthal, near Odessa, a German landlord offered to pay the government himself the amount of the liquor license fees provided the liquor shops were excluded from his estate. In 1854, during the Crimean war, costly errors in military operations on both sides were made through the drunkenness of responsible officers. There were times when the siege of

Sebastopal came near being ruined by drunken officers. Writing under date of November 25, 1854, Dr. Russell, the war correspondent of the London Times, reported, "A drunken man may put an end to the British expedition."* In 1858, the clergy took up the temperance question in earnest, promoting total abstinence among the peasants, and with striking results. "In some places, the consumption diminished to one-twelfth of its normal extent. Some estate owners sought to weaken the movement by reducing the price of spirits. On some estates the distilleries were closed. One nobleman, a great landowner in Padolia, made vigorous efforts to persuade his peasants to abandon the use of vodka. Temperance unions were established in the provinces of Kursk, Nizhnei and Razan, Saratov and Astrakhan."†

On the following year, 1859, the movement reached its height. "Five thousand workmen employed in the great building establishments of Petrograd took the pledge. At Wilna, the corporation of Shoemakers and Joiners formed a league to root out the custom of drinking ardent spirits. Backsliders were subjected to penalties of various kinds. In many communes, the newly reformed peasants carried their zeal to an extent that the authorities did not approve. The Minister of the Interior, in a dispatch to the government of the Central Provinces, ordered that 'whenever the peasants resolve to abstain from spirituous liquors, they must not be hindered in so laudable a design, provided that those who take the pledge do not attempt to punish those who differ with them'."‡

*Quoted in Burns' *Temperance History,* Vol. I., p. 370.

†*Ibid,* p. 424.

‡*Ibid,* p. 437.

During the sixties the people were so engrossed in reorganizing themselves under the new conditions arising from the emancipation of 1862 that the liquor evil was largely lost sight of. It was resurrected somewhat in the seventies. In 1872, the workmen employed in the silver works at Moscow united in taking an abstinence pledge for one year. Members who violated the pledge were fined one rouble. In 1874 a large number of communes began exercising the rights of local self-government conferred upon them at the time of the emancipation twelve years before. These communes forbade the sale of vodka to habitual drinkers and made the sellers liable for damages arising from their trade. In the district of Pensa, 200 communes went farther and prohibited the sale by peasant proprietors, which was almost equivalent to general prohibition in that district.

During the eighties another movement was sprung which amounted to little at the time, but, on account of the high character of the men responsible for it, had large influence in later years. In 1886, accompanied by his wife, Dr. Peter Semyonovich Alexyiev, of Moscow, a close friend of Count Leo Tolstoi, visited America for the purpose of inspecting hospitals, prisons and elementary schools. Becoming interested in the American contest against drunkenness, he began agitating the temperance question on his return the following year. Being a man of high standing, education, courage and of great activity, his efforts made a lasting impression. In the preface to a volume, "About America," which he published in 1888, he noted.

"Neither the wonder of wild nature in the Rocky Mountains nor the menacing might and grandeur of Niagara, produce such an impression on a Russian as the success of the fight with

drunkenness — the temperance movement — and the successful development, in all classes of society, of morality and the strict application of practical morals."

He wrote much on the subject for various learned Russian societies and also a work, *Concerning Drunkenness,* which was published* in Moscow by the magazine *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought), first in a cheap, abridged form. In 1901 an enlarged and permanent edition was published at one rouble, prefaced by a dissertation by Count Tolstoi entitled, *Why Do People Stupefy Themselves?*† This dissertation was translated and published in London under the caption, *Alcohol and Tobacco.* In 1896 another edition of Dr. Alexyiev's book, enlarged and revised, was published‡ in Moscow, to which was added a comprehensive bibliography of the temperance reform. The bibliography contained 705 items for Great Britain and the Colonies, 142 for the United States, 247 for Germany, 124 for ten other countries combined (up to 1885 in all these cases), to ten for Russia. Of these ten, four are in Latin, four in German, one is in Swedish and one in Russian, the latter, evidently, an article republished from *The Medical News.* There appeared no item in the Russian language.

Count Tolstoi took up the reform in characteristic fashion. He was an evangelist, a prophet, rather than an organizer of reform. The Count, in 1887, ordered the *starosta* of his village to summon all the

*The censor's permit for this volume was dated March 29, 1887.

†Count Tolstoi's dissertation was dated July 10, 1890, but the book itself was actually written in 1899.

‡This edition was prepared by Dr. Alexyiev at Riga, in 1895, where he lived after his return from government medical service in Siberia until his death in August, 1913.

inhabitants at 10 o'clock in the morning. A table and bench were placed before the communal house, and of what took place there a writer tells the following story:

"The Count took out of his pocket a piece of paper and put it on the table with a bottle of ink and pen. Great curiosity was aroused. When all were present, he gave them a lecture in plain, simple language of the dangers of drunkenness, on the evils that followed the use of tobacco and vodka. He spoke slowly and persuasively, urging arguments that would appeal to peasant folk and introducing striking anecdotes and similes.

"The women urged their husbands to follow Tolstoi's advice; so, seeing that he had them on his side, he asked those who would agree henceforth to drink no more, to sign the pledge.

"'Do you consent?' he cried.

"Just at that moment a harsh voice sounded: 'Let him pass.'

"'Room for Yeagor Ivanovich,' cried the peasants, and an old mujik stepped forward.

"'I want to speak a word about temperance,' said he. 'I want to call your attention to the fact that at weddings, births and baptisms, it is impossible to get along without vodka. One can do without smoking, but vodka—that is different. It is indispensable. Our fathers always drank it; we must do the same.'

"'You can substitute sugared rose-water,' replied Tolstoi. 'In the south rose-water is always served with sherbets thick as honey.'

"'Doesn't that make men drunk?' asked many at once.

"'No.'

"'Put your hand in front of your mouth, Yeagor Ivanovich. Do you need to keep it wide open?' whispered the women. 'Sign it!'

"'Do you, then, agree?' asked the Count again.

"'Yes. Yes.'

"The mujiks crowded up to the table; the women were radiant; even the children seemed to realize that something great was happening; the idea of sugared rose-water enchanted them.

"'So then, no more vodka, nor more tobacco?'

"'No. There's an end of smoking and drinking. You have promised.'"*

Tolstoi was far more considerate of the mujik who got drunk than he was of the men of culture, students and professors who drank in the presence of waiters and thus set an example of evil. He saw a certain charm in the affection displayed by the tipsy mujik, but for the educated classes who drank, he poured out his vials of wrath. Against the celebration of the anniversary of the University of Moscow, which ended in much drunkenness and debauchery, the Count launched a diatribe in his *Culture's Holiday* which aroused much protest.

In 1885 the excise laws were remodeled and included what was really a local option measure. The people themselves, through their elected representatives in the urban municipalities and in the rural communities in the country districts, were empowered to limit the number of licensed houses, or even to abolish them altogether. By another enactment vodka could only be consumed on the premises by the working classes in traktirs—eating houses where food as well as drink was supplied.

Another measure which indirectly aided in raising the status of the working classes and preparing the ground for temperance reform was the complete revision of the factory laws. Before the law of 1886 many employers of labor gave their workpeople vodka as part of their remuneration. This was made a criminal offense, entailing a severe penalty. All compensation for labor was required to be in cash.

The activities of Alexyiev and Tolstoi had no im-

*Nathan Haskell Dole; *Life of Count Lyof N. Tolstoi*, p. 322.

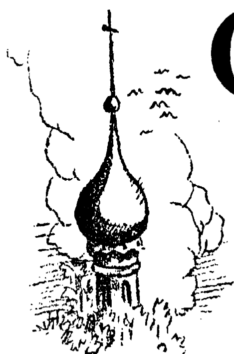
portant immediate effect, but the strong utterances of men of such high standing, widely circulated throughout the empire, laid the foundation for greater things to follow. In 1890, there were few temperance organizations left in Russia. The society at Petrograd was quite active and had six branches. A society existed in Kronstadt and one in Esthonia. On May 12, twelve students in the religious academy at Petrograd took the solemn pledge. On March 5, 1890, Professor Antonious of the Academy formed a society among the workmen at Howard's paper factory. Providence appeared to be opening the way for the introduction of the government monopoly idea on a scale never before attempted in the history of the world. The rise and development of this institution was set forth in the preceding chapter. Its final overthrow will be recorded in the last chapter of this book.





CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT FIGHT FOR REFORMS.



ON September 1, 1894, Dr. N. Grigoriev, a physician of Petrograd, established a monthly temperance magazine, the *Viestnik Trezvosti* ("Messenger of Temperance"). Dr. Grigoriev was a man of wealth, of scholarship and of purpose. He was wise enough to conduct his publication along conservative lines and thus avoided trouble with the censor. And yet he recorded the facts as they existed. The periodical is still being published by Dr. Grigoriev at 32 Gorokhovaia, Petrograd, and is the first permanent temperance publication launched in the Russian Empire. He lighted a fire that eventually spread all over Russia and helped to create a condition that made possible the overthrow of the government monopoly, which, curiously enough, was established under a law enacted only three months prior to the launching of the magazine itself.

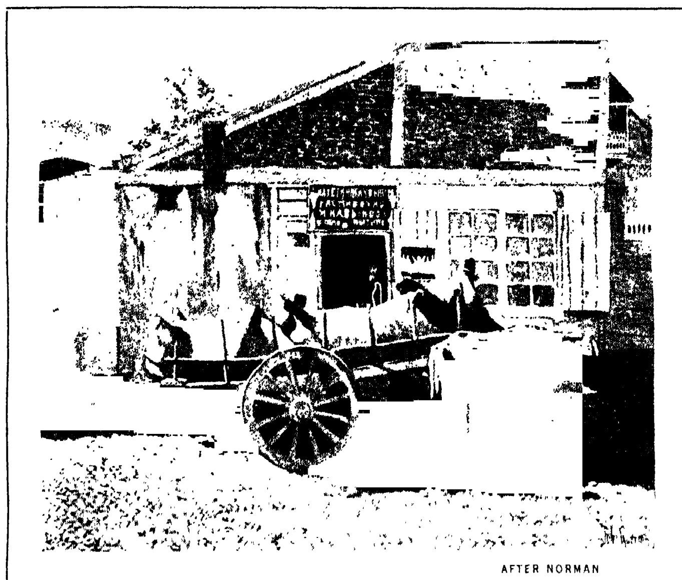
The monopoly was instituted from mixed motives. There were those who hoped and believed that the project would relieve the stress of drunkenness and would tend to better things. On the other hand, others looked only at the fiscal side of the enterprise. Indeed, the monopoly had been introduced into four provinces in 1893 as an experiment and, in presenting the proposal to the Council of the Empire, the Min-

ister of Finance said: "The tax on alcohol can give the government all the revenue that it needs, which would be more than we get now, with much less inconvenience."* Unfortunately for the temperance side of the proposal, the actual administration of the monopoly (*Monopolka*) was left almost entirely in the hands of those interested in the fiscal side of the project. Temperance, accordingly, suffered.

The law inaugurating the monopoly as the general policy of the government was enacted on June 6, 1894, and entitled the "Law Concerning the Sale of Liquor." From that time on, for several years, temperance effort was at a low ebb. The friends of temperance were generally disposed to wait until the results of the monopoly system became apparent.

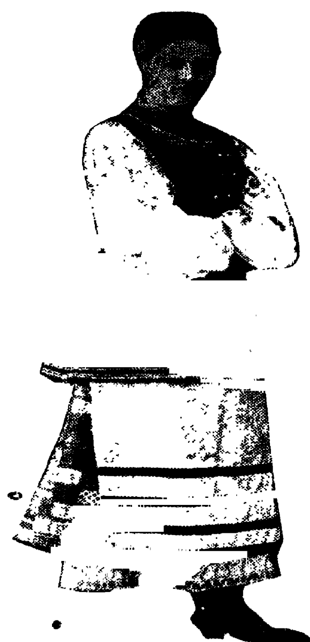
One important exception to this was the installation of an extensive temperance enterprise at Moscow under the leadership of Grand Duke Sergius, Governor General of Moscow and uncle of the Tsar. This movement had a stormy birth. Sergius was a reactionary of the reactionaries. He ruled with a tyrannical hand and, on the morning of February 17, 1905, shortly after he inaugurated the temperance enterprise, he was blown to pieces by a dynamite bomb, thrown by a young man named Kaliayev, while riding through St. Nicholas gate of the Kremlin. His wife, Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna, a woman of the highest character, was so horrified at the shocking tragedy that she renounced the world, organized a convent and entered the same under the name of Sister Beatrice. Sergius, while recognized as a tyrant and a man of alleged peculiar vices, must be given the credit

*P. Pavlov, in *Sovremennaya Illustratsia,* Petrograd, Jan. 29, 1915.


AFTER NORMAN

WINE SKINS AND WINE SHOPS OF TIFLIS

THE DISTRICT OF KAKHETA, NOT FAR FROM TIFLIS, IN THE CAUCASIAN REGION, IS FAMED FOR ITS WINES. THESE ARE MARKETED IN SKINS IN THE BAZAAR OF TIFLIS. UNLIKE OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES, A WHOLE OX SKIN IS MADE INTO A WINE CONTAINER, THE BURDYUKI. WHEN ONE WISHES A DRINK, THE LACE IS LOOSED FROM THE FORELEG OF THE SKIN AND THE WINE PROCURED. THE WINE SHOP ITSELF IS BELOW THE STREET, WHERE, IN A SORT OF A BOVINE CATACOMB, ROWS OF WINE-FILLED BEEF SKINS ARE TO BE FOUND INSTEAD OF BARRELS. THE WINE IS HAULED INTO THE MARKET ON CARTS DRAWN BY OXEN, WHOSE OWN SKINS, AFTER DEATH, ARE OFTEN MADE INTO WINE RECEPTACLES FOR OTHER OXEN TO DRAW. THE WINE OF THE WELL-TO-DO IS A TAWNY PORT IN COLOR. THAT OF THE POORER CLASSES IS THIN, SOUR AND VERY CHEAP. THE WINE SHOP IS THE CAUCASIAN CENTER OF GOSSIP, THE SAME AS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES.



RUSSIAN NATIONAL TYPE

for the foundation of the first great temperance institution in the Russian Empire.

These Moscow enterprises now reach enormous proportions and are all centered around the so-called Alexis Public Temperance House. This concern covers a great block of ground. There are the offices of administration, a gigantic restaurant where good food is served cheaply and without intoxicants, a drinkless theater, a sort of a playground, reading rooms, all on an extensive scale. During the summer months, more than 200 employees are required to conduct the establishment. At this establishment, nothing is done except to provide amusements, eating facilities, theater performances and reading rooms without alcoholic attachments. No direct temperance work is attempted and no pledges of abstinence are solicited. It is purely a "substitute" and as good a one as could be devised. It takes its name from the Crown Prince of the Empire, the Tsarevich Alexis, a lad now in his teens and in frail health. Every year, a special photograph of Prince Alexis is made and framed to be hanged on the walls of the great dining hall of the institution. These photographs half surround the big room.

About a mile away from the main establishment is the principal library from which the temperance propaganda proper is carried on. This library contains 8,620 carefully selected scientific volumes, attached to which is an elaborate chemical laboratory. This part of the work is now under the direction of two Russian scientists, Dr. Michael Ivanovitch Belski and Dr. Nicholai Alexandrovitch Flehoff. Connected with them is a staff of investigators, writers and lecturers. Their work is chiefly through the teachers. They address teachers' gatherings and instruct teach-

ers in the evils of alcohol drinking. They conduct experiments in the laboratory and demonstrate to the teachers what alcohol will do to the human body. Gatherings of teachers come to Moscow at different times to study in the library and attend the lectures. Connected with this main library is about a dozen small branch libraries in different parts of the city, some of which are in private houses, but all controlled by the central institution. The entire expense of this work amounts to approximately 1,100,000 roubles, or about $550,000 in American money.

In 1898, following the lead of Grand Duke Sergius, a most extensive temperance project was launched under government subsidy, but under the patronage and supervision of Alexander, Prince of Oldenburg, cousin of the present Emperor. The movement was established first at Petrograd under a government subsidy amounting to approximately 6,750,000 roubles. The Association, headed by the Prince, founded five People's Palaces in Petrograd besides public gardens and recreation grounds in different parts of the city, where refreshments of all sorts, except alcoholic beverages, were provided at cheap rates. Theaters were constructed in the grounds, where entertainments were given, while there was provided a constant succession of interesting lectures on health and temperance. In each of these "palaces" a doctor attends every Sunday and public holiday, and gives gratuitous consultations to all applicants. The entertainments begin at 4 in the afternoon, and continue until midnight, with a break between 6 and 7 p. m., when the temperance lecture is given. In two of these "People's Palaces" the entrance is gratuitous, in the others there is a small fixed charge. For the maintenance of these Temperance palaces the government

now provides a subsidy of 260,000 roubles per year. Other concerns of similar sort were launched in different parts of the Empire. In expenditure of money, the government has been lavish. During the past ten years, something like 45,000,000 roubles have been expended on these projects. Temperance, however, is but a small and indirect part of the work of these institutions. On the whole, they are for general social welfare. In some of them, nothing is said about temperance, but temperance could not help being somewhat advanced by providing amusement enterprises at popular prices where the visitor is not confronted by the inevitable vodka bottle and the beer stand. The Petrograd enterprises now include such places as Peter's Park, the Garden of Taurida, the Garden of Basil Island, the Garden of Ekaterinhov, the Floating Public Dining Room, and the extensive operations of the Municipal Committee for Public Temperance. The latter, in a way, is the parent of the original institution, founded by Oldenburg, which has been in existence for about fifteen years. This latter concern now conducts six theaters, an anti-alcoholism museum, eighteen public libraries, five popular dining rooms and gives free instructions in national music. During its existence, 9,518 performances were given in the theaters by the committee, the repertoire consisting of 667 different plays. Under its direction, 4,907 temperance lectures have been given, which were attended by 1,582,787 persons. The committee libraries circulated 320,436 volumes, its playgrounds were visited by 900,000 children, its dining rooms were visited by 19,000,000 persons and its parks were visited by 68,264,907 people. Seven years ago, the committee established twenty-two movable lunch rooms, using nine horse wagons, three automobiles, six platforms and

four hand carts. During the periods of its existence, these movable concerns have served 1,200,000 hot meals. These various temperance societies of Petrograd, under the general leadership of the Prince of Oldenburg, have now developed into the following:

1. Petrograd Temperance Society, Great Ochta. Porochovaia 44. This is a concern to combat excessive drinking by the population of Little and Great Ochta and neighboring localities. Honorary members pay five roubles; active members pay three roubles. The society maintains a free public library and reading room.

2. All-Russian Working Union of Christians. This is a total abstinence society under the protection of Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich. It is conducted on the basis of Christian love and mutual help.

3. Alexander Nevsky Temperance Society of the Boshresensky Church. Obvodny canal 118. This is conducted under the auspices of the Orthodox church. It organizes temperance unions, conducts excursions, provides lectures and literature. It has four schools and two workshops, one of the latter being a printing plant that has many branches, ten of which are as follows:

In the Putilov factory, Petergovskoie Shosse 80.
At Baltisky street 11.
On the Vassily Ostrov, Great Prospect 61.
At Mitavsky Pereulok 4.
At Great Spaskaia 53.
At Smolensky street, Port Arthur House.
In the village of Martyshkino, Petrograd district.
In Kronstadt.
In Tsarskoie Selo.
In Oranieubaum and some other places.

4. Voniratyvskoe Temperance Society, connected with the Spasso-Preobrashensky church. Sabalkansky 103.

5. Kasnaskoe Temperance Society. Connected with the Kasnaskoe Society for the propagation of religious and moral education according to the Orthodox Creed. Great Ochta, Tanfilova 33.

6. Matthew Temperance Society. Connected with Matthew Church. Matveevskaia 8. The society has about 8,000 total abstaining members, of whom 600 are women.

7. The First Russian Sergei School of Temperance. Old Sergieva Pustyn, N. W. Railway. The society has two parish schools with one class for girls on the premises of the society and one school, with two classes for boys, opposite monastery Troitsky Sergieva Pustyn. Besides general education, the "science of temperance" is taught and agriculture. This is one of the most famous institutions of its kind in Russia.

8. Finnish Temperance Society Alkov. The work of this society is among the Finnish people of Petrograd and vicinity. It has three choirs and pays much attention to music.

9. The Esthonian Temperance Society Jaith. Small Brebetzkaia 3. The society has a library. It combats excessive drinking among the Esthonian people of Petrograd and vicinity.

10. The Oulianovskoie Parish Temperance Society. Connected with the Church of Holy Peter Metropolitan. Petergovskoie Shosse 30. The society has a parish school.

11. The Serafimovskoie Temperance Society. Connected with Serafim Church.

Another and a newer society that has come into much prominence is the Society for Fighting Against Alcohol in the Public Schools.* This concern is sim-

*The officers and members of this organization are

Prof. A. A. Kornilov, University of Moscow, President.

I. Subbotin, Secretary-Treasurer.

Honorary Member: President of the Moscow Temperance Association, Major General W. F. Jounkovsky.

Members: Dr. W. G. Archangelsky, Dr. L. P. Bogolepov, Dr. A. P. Bogolepov, Rev. P. W. Bogoslovski, A. F. Beliakov, Dr. T. I. Viasemsky (Moscow University), Dr. Davidov, A. I. Elishov, Dr. W. A. Zagumenski, Dr. N. R. Ivanshev, Councillor of State A. D. Italisnky, S. S. Ievlev, Dr. A. M. Korovin, Dr. M. U. Lachtin (Moscow University), A. V. Laperovski, Rev. N. A. Liubimov, Dr. A. I. Lianz (University of Moscow), G. F. Markov, A. N. Ostkevich-Rudnizki, Councillor of State S. A. Petrovsky, Councillor of State A. N. Popov, Dr. W. T. Popov, Rev. N. A. Porezki, State Councillor A. S. Potozki, Rev. N. A. Preobrazhenski, Rev. N. P. Rosanov, Dr. K. N. Romanovich, Councillor of State A. D. Samarin, I. W. Subbotin, Dr. I. U. Tarasevich, Dr. N. D. Titoff, Dr. T. N. Terrian, A. A. Flerov, Dr N. A. Flerov, Prof. C. I. Chervinsky (Moscow University), W. B. Sheremetev, A. W. Shilov, V. M. Shilov.

ilar to the American institution, the Scientific Temperance Federation, which has its headquarters in Boston. Its work is the promotion of the scientific side of the alcohol problem in educational institutions.

Besides the above organizations which are distinctly temperance societies, there are many others that conduct a temperance propaganda in connection with their other religious or philanthropic efforts. The following are the principal organizations of this class:

1. Resurrection Alexander Joseph Brotherhood. This brotherhood maintains an asylum. One for 40 little boys, another for 40 little girls and one for 25 old women. It has a day asylum for 40 girls from the street and a common room for 10 more.

2. Sampsonievsky Christian Brotherhood. Great Sampsonievsky 37. The chief work of this society is moral and religious instruction to combat drunkenness.

3. Nevsky Orthodox Brotherhood. Gavanskaia 63. This is a society to help each other lead a Christian life. It conducts conferences, holds lectures, etc.

4. Petrograd Orthodox Esthonian Brotherhood. Ekaterinovsky Prospect 24. This is controlled by Pastor Isador Sourievsky. The brotherhood owns a church and a parish school with living rooms for the members. It has a reading room, a free library, and bookstores. It is a sort of a social center with special reference to Esthonian people. It also maintains a free asylum for Esthonian girls.

Another of the Imperial family to become interested in the temperance reform was Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich, uncle of the Tsar. He is the president of the All-Russian Working Union of Christians (*supra*), and it was partly through his influence that the Tsar abolished the vodka monopoly. Unlike some of the Russian magnates, Constantine advocates total abstinence. The Grand Duke is prac-

tically the sole owner and autocrat of the city of Pavlovsk (pertaining to Paul), which was, in 1913, practically the only "dry" city of Russia. The city of 5,000 people is located about five miles south of Tsarskoe Selo, the home of the Tsar. The property was formerly owned by Tsar Paul, son of Catherine the Great. Drinking places in Pavlovsk are forbidden by direction of the Grand Duke. It was his aim to run the place as a "Prohibition city," and he succeeded so far as his jurisdiction went. But the railway department of the Russian government, much to the disgust of the Duke, put a drinking bar in the Pavlovsk government railway station and the government liquor monopoly opened a sort of a "speakeasy" just outside of the city limits. Thus Pavlovsk became a dry city with these two important exceptions.

It is a curious fact and significant of the complex and contradictory character of the Russian government and people that, while these gigantic temperance enterprises were being conducted under the patronage of members of the Imperial family, and largely under subsidies of the Russian government, that other agencies of the same government were working in precisely the opposite direction. Mr. Eleonsky, in his story, *Fighting for Temperance*, tells of a country clergyman, Father Paul. The bishop of the diocese in which Father Paul's parish happened to be, obeying a circular of the Holy Synod, sent out orders to his subordinates to fight the great evil. Father Paul, with the aid of the village head, persuaded the community to petition the government for the removal of the vodka stores from their district. When the petition reached the local Superintendent of the Monopoly Department, trouble straightway began. An official was sent to Father Paul's parish to investigate the case,

and he discovered the "conspiracy" of the clergyman and the village head. A few days later, Father Paul received a warning from the Bishop henceforth not to interfere in the affairs of the village community, and "in the question of temperance to limit himself exclusively to moral persuasion, taking good care to keep the same in agreement with the Christian doctrines; and should the complaint be repeated, a stricter punishment would be accorded to him."

But, fortunately, these attempts at repression were sporadic and not general throughout the Empire. Those having the conduct of the monopoly did what they could to discourage these efforts, but other influences were at work, continually adding strength to the opposition. Moreover, the government Bureau of Popular Temperance, which had general direction of the numerous temperance committees throughout the country, began doing some real valuable work. The maximum of effort for this bureau was reached during the year 1905, when 70,700 lectures were given under its auspices in 6,716 towns and villages. These lectures were attended by 7,400,000 persons during the year. Granted that these lectures were not all very radical in their temperance utterances, it is inconceivable that they should not have produced a profound impression.

In December, 1909, and January, 1910, the first All Russian Congress to Combat the Drink Evil was held at Petrograd, which gave a still further impetus to the anti-alcohol movement. This congress was widely attended by both conservatives and radicals. In order to take part in it, Russian trades unionists organized themselves into workmen's development clubs, printing ten thousand question lists for investi-

gation among Petrograd workmen to gather information as to conditions of labor and drink.*

With the establishment of the Duma, all eyes were turned to that body, but not until the third Duma did the temperance question receive serious attention. On December 20, 1907, the Duma passed a resolution expressing the hope that the government would restrict the sale of alcohol in the famine-stricken districts. The subject was discussed again in 1908, 1911 and 1912. In the last-named year a Commission was appointed to inquire and report. Three of its recommendations were finally adopted, the most important of which were (1) the reduction of the alcoholic strength of vodka from 40 per cent to 37 per cent, and (2) the decision to call the attention of the clergy to the evils of alcoholism.

On May 24, 1913, during the debates on the budget in the Imperial Duma, the management of the alcohol monopoly came in for fierce criticism. One member, I. N. Tuliakov, in the debate, said:

"The present Minister of the Interior in conversation with a French journalist explained that the drunkenness, exploited by our Government, is a result of the severe climate of our country. However, the fundamental reason which brings the Russian people to the vodka evil is not the climate, but poverty, oppression, lack of justice, dreadfully long hours of labor, low pay, terrible housing conditions, the arbitrary rule of the police, the trampling under foot of the human personality, regular and systematic famines. The condition of laborers in the enterprises controlled by the ministry of finance is not better and sometimes even worse than in private enterprises."

In the course of the same debates another member of the Duma, Prof. Levashev, spoke as follows:

"Even from the point of view of our fiscal system it is obviously dangerous to rest contented with a budget based primarily

*Gordon, *The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe,* p. 162.

upon receipts from alcohol. It is clear that only that tax can grow progressively which is based upon a gradual increase of the productive powers of the country. An increase of profits from a Government vodka monopoly can be considered as merely temporary. For this growth goes hand in hand with a devastation of our villages, with a full disorganization of the fundamental industry of our people, the agriculture, and with a constantly increasing poverty."

Another member, Prince S. P. Mansirev, also denounced the alcohol monopoly in a spirited speech from the tribune:* He said:

"In the Government of Liefland there are vodka stores that bring to land owners upon whose property they are situated a net annual profit of 6,000 roubles and more. It is disgusting to see a millionaire rob poor workingmen of their last pennies, which he puts into his own pocket, but it is shameful to behold our own Minister of Finance trudging along behind such worthies."

During the debate, so much mockery was made of the policy of the government in gathering its revenues from the vodka monopoly and then making appropriations for the promotion of temperance that the Duma decided to cut down by 500,000 roubles the estimates of the government for the temperance propaganda.

In 1904, the Russian Congress of Medical Men met at Petrograd to discuss medical and sanitary questions. It was not at all a temperance organization, but it is difficult to probe into such problems without encountering the alcohol problem. The temperance question was discussed informally but earnestly by the Medical Congress, with the result that they passed the following resolutions:

*The speeches in the Duma are not made from the seats of the members as in American Legislative bodies, but from the "tribune," a sort of a pulpit arranged for the purpose.

"The spirit monopoly not only does not check alcoholism in Russia, but it actually favors its growth, because of its value in filling the coffers of the state.

"An active and successful conflict against alcoholism, which is in Russia a social evil of the first magnitude, is only possible if we had full guarantees of liberty for our persons and words, and freedom of the press and public meetings.

"It is only under these conditions that it would be possible to spread widely among the people instruction as to the injury caused by alcoholism, and the real causes of its development."

There was plenty of trouble waiting for the doctors who had the temerity to criticize a government institution. Dr. Kelnyck is authority* for the statement that several of the participating physicians were punished by being transported to Siberia.

The year 1913 was a most notable one in the history of the temperance cause in Russia. The elements of reform had acquired such strength among the people as well as among the powers in Petrograd that they could, without fear of reprisals from the monopoly authorities, investigate the drink troubles and speak and write freely. It was noised about, for instance, that the government had established throughout the nation one monopoly vodka shop for every 264 versts and one temperance committee for every 1,722 versts. The incongruity of that situation, from a temperance standpoint, was apparent even to a mujik. The monopoly was openly attacked from many sources. In a paper read before the International Anti-Alcohol Congress at Milan, Italy, in September, 1913, Imperial Councillor Nicholas de Cramer showed that, in the year 1906, there was one registered drunkard to 16,962 inhabitants in Paris, to 1,020 inhabitants in Vienna, 329 inhabitants in Berlin, and to every 25 inhabitants in Petrograd. Moreover, in the same paper, Mr.

Drink Problem, p. 255.

Cramer directly attacked one of the fundamentals of the monopoly system, that of its temperance pretentions. He said:

"It is a grave error if one thinks that amusements and recreation can win people away from the public house, and that drunkenness can be checked by theatrical performances and park concerts, for, first, elements little developed spiritually gain nothing in good taste from a course of pleasures; and second, pleasures, in and of themselves, are able neither to arouse the will nor to strengthen it—the will, which above all is necessary for the weak, characterless man in his fight with the injurious habit."

Not only did individuals investigate, but government bureaus and city and local authorities probed into the problem. Official investigations showed that in the village schools of the government Saratov 79 per cent of the boys and 48½ per cent of the girls habitually drink vodka. In the government of Pskov the percentage was 83 and 68. During the eighteen years of the government vodka monopoly, 84,217 deaths were registered as immediate results of drunken bouts, these figures being far below the real ones, as in numerous vast districts in Russia there are neither hospitals, doctors nor any other authority for registering cases of death or their causes.

An inquiry on the subject was made in the schools of Ekaterinodar. Out of 5,721 pupils, it was found that 63 per cent drank. Of these 2,500, 25 per cent had taken to drink at the age of eight, 20 per cent at seven, and 11 per cent at six, while many of them, it is shocking to state, had made the acquaintance of alcohol at the age of four.

It was shown that, in many of the distilleries, school children are employed in different capacities. Very often their pay consists partly in money and partly in alcohol. In the Krasninsky canton, of the

Government of Smolensk, a local doctor examined the children working in spirits distilleries and found that they receive quantities of alcohol as a part of their pay. In four schools of the canton, the children, thus made chronic drunkards, form 28 per cent of the total number of pupils. In Krapvensk, where the school and the distillery are in very close proximity, the number of children receiving alcohol for their work is almost 55 per cent of the number of pupils in the school.

When the discovery was communicated to the zemstvo assembly, its members decided at first that the matter is "outside of their jurisdiction," and should therefore be let alone. Finally, however, they drew up an appeal to the people, pointing out the injurious effects of alcohol upon the child's organism. To this appeal was appended the opinion of the assembly as to the desirability of government regulation for the punishment of persons "who give alcoholic drinks to children." But even here the assembly did not deem it wise to come out directly with an accusation against the distillers, who were guilty of the revolting crime.

The town council of Moscow made an official investigation and ascertained that of the adults addicted to drink, 90 per cent learned to drink while at school. It further established the fact that of the 18,134 schoolboys of the Moscow government between the ages of 8 and 13, 12,153, or 66 per cent, had taken to drink. It found that out of 10,404 school girls of the same ages, 4,733, or 45 per cent, had taken to drink.

With such appalling facts staring the people in the face, results for the better began to appear in rapid succession. People and local authorities all over

the Empire had been petitioning Petrograd for the closing of the government vodka shops. True, under the existing law, the local authorities had authority to close up private shops, but they had no such control over the government monopoly establishments. There was nothing to be gained, therefore, in forbidding the private shops which paid them a revenue when the government stores continued, which paid them no revenue. Under the old orders of the Minister of Finance (June 25, 1898), applications of local authorities for the closing of monopoly shops were to be refused, except in unusual cases near army barracks or near great industrial plants in which the superficial government or influential corporations might be more or less directly interested. The idea of efficiency was beginning to take root. The government began to get glimpses of the advantage of safeguarding industry and government manufacturing concerns from the ravages occasioned by the monopoly vodka.

Under the new orders of September 1, 1913, the Minister of Finance directed the superintendents of excise tax districts to "satisfy the demands of rural communities that the sale of alcoholic drinks be forbidden in their districts and that the vodka stores already existing there be removed." Many places immediately began acting upon the suggestion. Rostov-on-the-Don entered upon the prohibition policy. At Warsaw, great supplies of vodka were destroyed, the fire brigade assisting in the destruction. Vilna, Vladimir and the holy city of Kiev got up great petitions for dry cities, the petitions being headed by the municipal governments. Ivanovo-Voznesensk came under the prohibition policy. In some districts, the governor took an active part in stirring up the people

along temperance lines. Lieutenant Governor Babitch, of the Kubansk Territory and Commander of the Kubansk Cossacks,* issued an order,† dated March 27, 1913 (No. 121), exhorting the people to abstain and calling upon the local administrative bodies to use the "harshest" measures to eliminate the evil.

*"Cossack" is a Tartar word originally meaning "robber," but it now has no such meaning. It is applied to certain Tartar tribes, loyal to the crown and who are great fighters.

†The text of this "order" read:

ORDER ISSUED FOR THE KUBANSK TERRITORY BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY AND COMMANDER OF THE KUBANSK COSSACKS.

Issued March 27, 1913, at the City of Ekaterinodar.—No. 121.

The data gathered by the Territorial Administration have established the fact that during the year 1912 the monopoly vodka stores, situated at the populated points of the Kubansk Territory, sold 2,153,906 vedro of monopoly vodka (whisky). Taking the lowest estimate of the price of a vedro of vodka viz., 8 r. 40 kop., we find that during the one year, 1912, the population of the territory spent for the monopoly vodka alone 18,092,894 r. 40 kop. Assuming that approximately as much was spent for beer, vodka, liqueurs and other imported drinks, we come to the conclusion that during one year the population of the territory spent almost 40,000,000 r. for drink.

The figures given above show clearly how deeply drunkenness is enrooted in the population.

Let me remind you, Cossacks and other inhabitants of the territory entrusted to me, that drunkenness is a terrible evil. It impairs the material welfare not only of whole communities, but also of separate families. It aids the development of crime and other offenses against public morals, of horse-thieving, thefts, murders, riots and other vices. It creates family discords, aids the spreading of different diseases, and what is more dreadful than anything else, it leads to a gradual degeneration of the population. This terrible evil, the drunkenness, is fostered not only by the presence of the institutions, conducive to its development, but in part it is due to the deep-rooted and widely established habit of the people to celebrate by drinking every occasion, whether sad or joyous, of their public or family

It was in this historic year (1913) that the vodka ration in the Imperial Navy was abolished, and soon after the sale of vodka was prohibited in the restaurants attached to all government works and institutions. The sale of vodka is also forbidden in all places of amusement, including theaters, and the legal strength of all vodka sold was reduced to 37 per cent alcohol.

life. Still another false opinion has taken root in the people, and that is, that whisky strengthens a man, freshens him, stimulates him, aids him in convalescence, etc. But you must have noticed from personal experience that exactly the opposite is true. Moreover, careful scientific investigations have shown that the action of alcohol is to stimulate the organism only temporarily, and that, after its effects pass away, even greater weakness sets in.

In order to bring about and to strengthen the welfare and the well-being of the people, it is necessary to inaugurate a most vigorous campaign against this drunkenness, that has developed everywhere, against this most cruel and most powerful foe of mankind, that drains the people of its best juices and poisons away its best powers and tendencies.

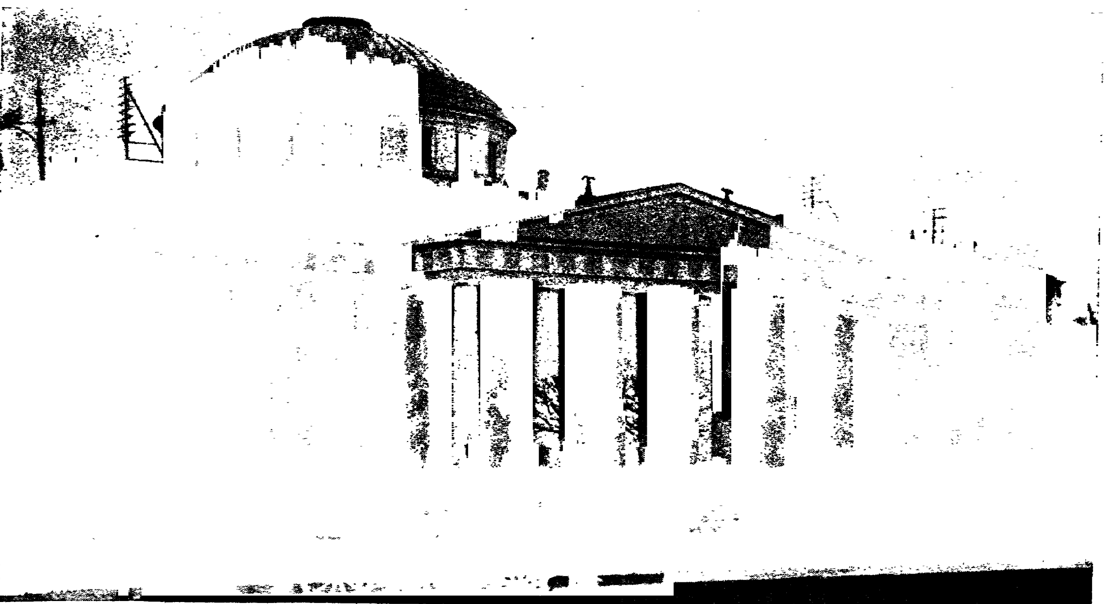
I invite the members of the administrative bodies in the populated districts and all well-intentioned inhabitants to promote among the people more rational ideas concerning the harm of alcoholic drinks, both by the personal example of abstinence and by advice and instruction.

On my part, I shall assist in every way permitted me by the law, all undertakings on the part of communities or private individuals, tending to decrease drunkenness. At the same time, I enjoin upon all members of the administrative bodies to take the harshest measures for the elimination of unlicensed sale of alcoholic drinks and to lend the greatest possible aid in this direction to the different temperance societies and their individual members.

This order must be read at the full village, hamlet and stanitza assemblies.

Governor of the Territory and Commander of
the Kubansk Cossacks.

Lieutenant-General Babitch.



THE IMPERIAL DUMA, PETROGRAD

The Holy Synod had taken up the combat against alcohol in the previous year (1912) with more zeal than it had ever shown before. It was ordered that August 29, St. John the Baptist's day, be set apart in all the churches as "temperance day," on which special temperance services are to be held, processions are to march through the streets and warnings are to be given to the people against drink. During the year, the Synod called a conference of all practical church workers to consider the temperance question. As the Synod shares in the profits of the alcohol monopoly to the extent of about 14,000,000 roubles per year, the conference, at the start, was forbidden* to criticize that institution. The conference, nevertheless, recommended the establishment of a permanent "Russian Brotherhood of Temperance," and organizing of monasteries for combating alcoholism. It "recommended to the clergy to couple its care for temperance with efforts to encourage the development of co-operative institutions in the different parishes." Further, "the conference deemed it desirable to petition the government for a subsidy for the church temperance organizations." On November 1, 1912, the Synod approved these recommendations and decided to put to actual application those of the resolutions, the execution of which comes within the scope of the Synod's jurisdiction, and to recommend, through its Procurator, the other resolutions to the departments, within whose jurisdiction they happen to fall.

Another point was won during the year 1913. On the previous year, the management of the Alexis Public House of Moscow (*supra*) had petitioned the Tsar for a system of scientific temperance instruction in the

**Vestnik Tresvosti.* No. 225, p. 17.

public schools. This, in 1913, was granted. A system of special instruction in the evils of alcohol was adopted, the use of which is obligatory upon all educational establishments in the Empire, and the Imperial Educational Committee entrusted the work of compiling the necessary text books for use in the lower and higher schools and colleges to the celebrated Russian physician, Dr. Mendelssohn, of Petrograd.*

In this agitation, one of the principal defenders of the monopoly system was M. Louis Skarzynski, a functionary of the Russian monopoly, and who attended as a delegate from the Russian government several of the International Anti-Alcohol Congresses. In 1907 he visited the temperance gathering at Stockholm, on which occasion he attacked the comparative statistics of insurance companies as to abstinence, using for his purpose the figures of Isambart Owen, who allied himself with the brewers' papers for thirty years and who is not quoted any more, even by the liquor men themselves.

In 1909 M. Skarzynski visited the United States to gather data of the failure of prohibition in this country. On his return he published in a statistical report a caricature on prohibition states. He attacked everything in the way of reform that did not involve selling liquor, and was one of the leading spirits of the conference held at Paris, January 27, 1913, to organize what became known as the International Committee for the Scientific Study of the Liquor Question, and which has headquarters at 63 Rue Galilee, Paris. This is a concern of men largely identified with the manufacture of liquor and who seek to find a way to

*Frances E. H. Palmer, author *Russian Life in Town and Country,* in *Alliance News,* (Manchester, Eng.) July, 9, 1914.

solve the drink problem without interfering with the sale of drink.

All this prepared the way for the stirring contest in the Council of the Empire that took place early in 1914. The contest was occasioned by the introduction of a bill providing for excise reforms. This bill has an interesting history back of it. During the first sessions of the Third Duma, Michael Dimitrievich Tschelishev, a member of the Duma, introduced a bill providing for drink reforms. Among other reforms the bill provided for the enlargement of the smallest bottle in which spirits were sold, greater privileges of local option, limitation of the time of sale of intoxicants. The Duma committee that had the bill under consideration added several new features. The amendments proposed by the committee provided for rewards to be granted for the discovery of illicit traffic in intoxicants, for prohibition of sale of drinks on railroad stations, steamers, etc., for permission to women to take part in discussions leading to a petition for local prohibition, for the removal from the label of the vodka bottles of the Imperial coat-of-arms and substitution in its place of information concerning the harm of alcohol. Most of these amendments were accepted by the Duma.

In December, 1911, the bill went to the Council of the Empire and was referred to a special committee, where it remained for two years. Its introduction for discussion in the Council on January 10, 1914, was the occasion for the contest. The Duma bill left the Council committee so changed that it was scarcely recognizable. The participation of women in discussions of the question of alcohol was not allowed. The rest of the provisions, e. g., concerning

the size of bottles, the percentage of pure alcohol, etc., were changed.*

Still the bill contained a local veto feature as to government monopoly shops as well as to private concerns. This proposal, which became the principal point at issue, is thus stated by Nicholas de Cramer, a member of the Council:

"To the village communities the right is given to pass ordinances through which in the course of three years, in the territory of the village or municipality, every sale of brandy, wine or beer, or of brandy and beer only, will be forbidden. After three years the prohibition of sale can be renewed for another three years. In the vote of the community members, the wives and mothers of those having the property qualification take part. Force of law upholds the enactment through a two-thirds majority. A special magisterial ratification of the enactment is not necessary and the same can only be attacked on formal grounds. The places for selling drink must be closed on January first of the year following the enactment."

The fight in the Council lasted for several weeks, occupying in all fourteen sessions. During the heat of the controversy, Petrograd newspapers published the names of 24 members of the Council, including the president of the body, M. G. Akimov, who were actually the owners of estates on which distilleries were located. The total amount of alcohol produced at the distilleries owned either by members of the Imperial Council themselves, or by their near relations, is 1,389,376 vedro (3,751,215 gal.) In addition, it was shown that numerous other members of the Council were financially interested in many other ways in perpetuating the monopoly.

At the first session of the Council at which the liquor traffic was discussed (February, 1914), the special committee to consider the alcohol problem re-

*_Reitch_ (Petrograd), Jan. 11, 1914.

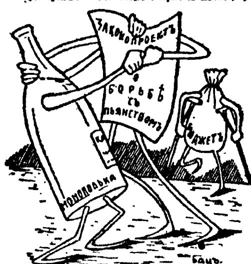
ported a measure falling far short of the requirements of the temperance people. In supporting the committee proposal, its chairman, M. Zinoviev, urged that it would be a serious mistake to sacrifice the economic interests of the country by the suppression of alcohol. At this point, the famous Sergius Julevich Witte came into the debate. His furious attack upon the monopoly attracted international attention, largely because of the fact that it was through his own efforts, as Minister of Finance, that the monopoly was adopted 20 years before. Responding to the report of the committee, Mr. Witte said, in part:

"As I have already had occasion to remark, the Spirits Monopoly was introduced as a means of suppressing the then existing inordinate consumption of alcoholic drinks of the most harmful kind. In the eighties of the last century, when, just as at the present time, Russia was under the destructive influence of alcoholism, different committees, among them the so-called 'Drink Parliament,' were organized for the purpose of finding means for combating the great national evil.

"These committees accomplished nothing, and it was then decided that the cruelest instrument which can be used either for torturing the body and spirit of a nation, or for guarding the people from human weaknesses, should be taken by the government from the hands of the owners of the alcohol capital. It was decided to introduce a government spirits monopoly.

"The new system was begun to be introduced in 1893, and by 1903, when I ceased to be the Minister of Finance, it was in operation practically all over Russia.

"From the fiscal point of view, the new reform was thoroughly satisfactory. . . . But the chief object of the reform was not the



Cartoon from Russian paper illustrating the fight between the bill and the bottle.

strengthening of the alcohol economy, but the suppression of the great national evil, the alcoholism. In this respect the reform has thus far given but negative results.

"How did this come about? During the period of the introduction of the monopoly, i.e., prior to 1904, most of the official and non-official reports of our press bore witness to the fact that with the introduction of the monopoly drunkenness began to assume a more decent character. But scarcely had the monopoly been introduced when the war broke out, followed by the internal troubles. The picture began to change rapidly. The real object of the reform, the suppression of alcoholism, was pushed to the rear, and the object of the monopoly became the pumping of the people's money into the government treasury.

"Together with the Monopoly, three laws were introduced, calculated to combat the alcohol evil. One referred to the establishment of temperance committees, the second provided for a punishment for the violation of the Monopoly law, and the third provided for a punishment for drunkenness.

"These were merely test laws, imperfect as they were. . . . Even to the present day these laws are executed very perfunctorily, merely as a matter of form.

"During the war, owing to a great need of money, a special stress was laid upon deriving large profits from the Spirits Monopoly. From the fiscal point of view, this 'stress' gave excellent results. The receipts of the Monopoly have almost doubled since 1904, having increased by 500,000,000 roubles.

"In order to emphasize the meaning of this sum, a half-billion roubles, by which the receipts for alcohol increased during the last decade, suffice it to say that the total present budget of the Ministry of Public Education is only about 160,000,000 roubles, i. e., less than one-third of this increase.

". . . . Moreover, while the receipts from the sale of whisky have increased by almost a half-billion, the microscopic means, devoted to the maintenance of the temperance committees, 4,000,000 roubles at the beginning, have not only not increased during the last decade, correspondingly with the increase in the receipts of the treasury, but, on the contrary, have diminished to 2,500,000 roubles.

"For political reasons many reading-rooms, tea-rooms, and even several committees themselves, were abolished. The prosecution of the clandestine alcohol traffic has been conducted very inefficiently, owing to the insufficiency of means. As a

consequence, this traffic has developed enormously. Drunkards, either already drunk or drinking right in the street, form an ordinary occurrence of our city life. They serve as an object for indifference on the part of the police, and for sport on the part of the children. There are no special quarters for inebriates at the police stations even of our capital cities.

"Finally came the year 1907. Officially, 'peace' was restored in the country. During the seven years that have gone by since then, many changes have taken place in the wide world. Two European kingdoms have been formed, the great Chinese Empire has been transformed into a republic; blood has flown freely in the awakened Balkans; England and America have passed legislation changing fundamentally their financial and economic systems; the Panama Canal has been opened, etc., etc.

"But what have we done for the suppression of alcoholism, the great evil that corrupts and destroys the Russian people?

"Absolutely nothing. As a result of our utter lack of activity in the direction of combating the evil of alcoholism, we are confronted by a new evil, the so-called 'Hooliganism.' Hooliganism is a legitimate child of alcoholism. We are already beginning to frame laws against this new monster, but it seems to me that the only sensible way of decreasing Hooliganism is to cast aside our indifference to the nation-wide epidemic of drunkenness that holds our country in its grip."

Count Witte then discussed the relation of the monopoly receipts to the Russian budget, showing that the money thus received forms 26 per cent of the total revenue. He proved, by official statistics, that the profits of the transaction not only covered the enormous deficit produced by the war, but had also already built up a surplus of almost 500,000,000 roubles. He continued:

"Even if we take into consideration the increase of population since 1904, and assume that, owing to a vigorous activity on the part of the government and the different societies, the increase of the expenditure for drink would not exceed that of the population, then at the present time, instead of a surplus of over a half-billion, we would have a deficit of over 700,000,000 roubles.

"From the data that I have presented to you, you can see what part the profits of the Spirits Monopoly play in our fiscal economy. This, it seems to me, explains the phenomenon that fiery speeches are made against the great national evil of alcoholism at any time except during the discussion of the government budget.

"But if the past of alcoholism appears dark and gloomy, the future of the great evil appears even darker to me."

Here Count Witte entered into another financial discussion, showing how the constant growth of the international armaments necessitates a rapid increase of the war budgets and how this fact alone may reduce to nothing the "sincerest" desire to suppress the great evil of alcoholism. He concluded as follows:

"In view of the above, and as matters stand at present, if you really wish to combat the great national evil of alcoholism, and if you wish to pass measures not for the monetary self-gratification, or as a matter of evasion, you should adopt the following measures, which I propose to you, after having given the subject careful and elaborate consideration:

"First of all it is necessary to disarm the tempter, the Mephistopheles of our fiscal budget repertory, to cut down the receipts from alcohol, so that there would be no temptation to increase them for the purpose of balancing the budget and building up the surplus.

"Let us say that the total gross receipts from the sale of alcohol should not exceed 545,000,000 roubles, the figure at which they stood in 1904, immediately after the introduction of the Monopoly. Increase this sum to correspond to the growth of our population during this decade to, say, 670,000,000, and, finally, fix the receipts from this source at 700,000,000 roubles. Any surplus, over and above this sum, should not enter into the government revenues, but should be devoted to the organizations established for combating the evil of alcoholism.

"It may be expected that in time there would be no such surpluses, provided that, in the making of our budget, we would not be interested in a constant increase of liquor profits at the expense of corrupting the people by means of alcohol.

"I know that it may be objected that the fixing of the liquor receipts would be an extraordinary measure. That is true, but

surely extraordinary evils necessitate extraordinary measures.

"A government that realizes its duty before the people is not unwilling to adopt extraordinary measures in economic and financial matters. The Reichstag did not hesitate before levying an enormous military tax upon the whole of Germany. The British and the American parliaments did not hesitate before overturning the whole century-old economic-financial policy for the good of the people. These measures are ultra-extraordinary, iconoclastic from the point of view of finance book doctrinarianism.

"And if, in disarming Mephistohpeles, the revenues will decrease, cover them by normal means, by additional tax levies, and by open and not secret government loans, for which purpose you must extract from the depths of the Taurida Palace the bills providing for new taxes, which have been reposing there for the last eight years.

"Then make proper appropriations for a prosecution of the clandestine traffic in alcoholic drinks, for a suppression of street alcoholism, for the prosecution of the violators of the law. Use millions of roubles, and not a few paltry kopeks, for the maintenance of institutions, devoted to these ends, with their necessary personnel, miserably small at present; for the maintenance of temperance committees.

"Only by adopting such measures can you decrease drunkenness, or at least arrest its further growth.

"As for the bill under consideration at present, I must say that, under the existing conditions, I do not believe in its effectiveness.

"Even if, after the long trip which the bill has before it, it will emerge without undergoing very great injuries, it will finally, unless followed by other extraordinary measures, be classed among the laws which may be filed in a library and labeled 'An Attempt With Inefficient Means.'"

The principal reply to Witte was that of Finance Minister Kokovtsov, who defended his monopoly administration, and who was supported in his forensic attempt by several distillers. But the war of words centered around the two giants, Witte and Kokovtsov. The temperance people failed in their complete ambitions, but an excise reform measure, with some

provisions for local option, was adopted by the Council in the course of the fourteen sessions devoted to the bill, and the fragmentary provisions were sent to the State Chancellory for final codification. On February 26 the codified bill was sent to the Duma for reconsideration.* While Witte failed in his main contention, yet in the masterly attack that he made upon the monopoly, he wrote the political death warrant of its sponsor, M. Kokovtsov, and gave the monopoly itself a stab in the vitals from which it never recovered.

Another factor of trouble arose at this period to plague the monopoly, in the form of a "man of the people." Michael Dimitrievich Tschelishev, also a member of the Duma. Tschelishev was born of poor parents in a small village in the Volga country. He was self-educated. Later he removed to Samara, where he now lives. He engaged in trade and became wealthy, but he is so intensely Russian that, wherever he goes, he wears the national Russian garb, a blue blouse, with tasseled girdle and baggy, black breeches tucked away in top boots. Tschelishev first became interested in the temperance question through an anti-alcohol book given him by a mujik. After Tschelishev became an alderman of Samara, one of his tenants, while drunk, killed his wife. Thereupon Tschelishev began his great fight against the vodka which caused such things. I will allow him to relate the essence of the first part of his contest in his own words:

"On the supposition that the government was selling vodka for the revenue, I calculated the revenue received from its consumption in Samara. I then introduced a bill in the city council providing that the city give this sum of money to the imperial

*"*Reitch*" (Petrograd), February 27, 1914.

treasury, requesting at the same time that the sale of vodka be prohibited. This bill passed and the money was appropriated. It was offered to the government, but the government promptly refused it.

"It then dawned upon me that Russian bureaucracy did not want the people to become sober, for the reason that it was easier to rule autocratically a drunken mob than a sober people.

"This was seven years ago. Later I was elected mayor of Samara, capital of the Volga district, a district with over a quarter of a million inhabitants. Subsequently I was elected to the Duma on an anti-vodka platform. In the Duma I proposed a bill permitting the inhabitants of any town to close the local vodka shops, and providing also that every bottle of vodka should bear a label with the word poison. At my request the wording of this label, in which the evils of vodka were set forth, was done by the late Count Leo Tolstoi. This bill passed the Duma and went to the Imperial Council, where it was amended and finally tabled."*

In his efforts to get the Duma to adopt his "poison" law, his principal opponent was M. Kokovstov, the Minister of Finance, who objected against any interference with drink on fiscal grounds. The very character of this argument only intensified the ardor of Deputy Tschelishev to overthrow the vodka monopoly itself. How this was finally accomplished is shown in the concluding chapter.

**The New York Times Current History of the War;* Vol. I., No. 5, p. 832.





CHAPTER X.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE MONOPOLY



THROUGHOUT the various debates in the Duma during 1913, M. Kokovtsov, Minister of Finance, was the center of attack. He was accused of manipulating the vodka monopoly for purely fiscal purposes and ignoring the philanthropic side of the institution. In his defense he provided additional ammunition for the temperance people by urging only the financial needs of the country. When any attempt was made to devise measures for the diminution of drunkenness, Kokovtsov would oppose, always for fiscal reasons. In pressing this claim to such an extreme, the Finance Minister dug his own political grave. Nothing is more popular in Russia than schemes of philanthropy and social betterment. And when Kokovtsov uniformly opposed such movements for financial reasons, he placed himself politically on the wrong side of the debate.

The stirring events of 1913 had developed a powerful combination against the vodka system. The relentless agitation of Tschelishev, the idol of the common people of the entire Volga country, was vigorously supported by Imperial Councillor de Cramer, a power in the Baltic provinces. The temperance teachings of Tolstoi have filtered into the remotest corners of

Russia. Two of the most powerful members of the Imperial Family itself, the Prince of Oldenburg and Grand Duke Constantine, both uncles of the Tsar, were at the head of the two great temperance movements in the Empire. Constantine had established his city of Pavlovsk on prohibition principles only five miles from the home of the Tsar, and his efforts were, in part, thwarted by the monopoly authorities establishing a couple speakeasies, one in the railway station and one just outside of the Pavlovsk city limits. And, to add to the complexity of the situation, the town council of Moscow and numerous other administrative bodies had conducted official investigations into the drink question, and the results thereof uniformly much more than confirmed the most radical statements that had been made by the temperance advocates anywhere. Kokovtsov's only answer to all this was that interference with the situation would affect the national finances. The great newspapers of Petrograd and Moscow were openly and boldly criticizing the monopoly, printing cartoons and galling accounts of the "drunken statistics" provided by the vodka authorities. Verily, the elements of a storm were brewing, and conditions were ripe for some kind of a crash, the true Slavic way of doing things.

In the meantime, the Tsar himself had been conducting, in his own way, some personal investigations. He went to Moscow and other provinces, where he observed conditions with his own eyes. Once convinced, the Tsar acted swiftly and with true Russian vigor. On January 30, 1914, the first great blow fell. The Tsar sent to M. Kokovtsov, Minister of Finance, a polite note thanking him for his services and expressing regret that he was no longer able to continue in the service as Minister. That is the Russian way

of dismissing a high official. On the very same day, he summoned Peter L. Bark, a man of Jewish extraction, and appointed him as the successor of Kokovtsov. And in a rescript* dated the same day, the Tsar outlined an altogether new policy as to the management of the vodka monopoly. The full text of the rescript was as follows:

"The journey through several governments of the Great Russia, which I undertook last year with God's aid, afforded me an opportunity to study directly the vital needs of my people. With great pleasure did I behold the brilliant manifestations of the great creative powers of my people; but, at the same time, with profoundest grief, I saw sorrowful pictures of the people's helplessness, of family poverty, of broken-up households and all those inevitable consequences of insobriety and often of toil, that is denied in times of difficulty the monetary aid of a well-regulated and easily accessible credit system.

"Since then, constantly reflecting upon, and verifying, my impressions and information, I have come to a firm conclusion that there lies upon me a duty, imposed by God and by Russia, to introduce without delay fundamental changes into the management of the financial and economic problems that confront the country's government—changes that would work for the good of my beloved people.

"We cannot make our fiscal prosperity dependent upon the destruction of the spiritual and economic powers of many of my subjects, and therefore it is necessary to direct our financial policy towards seeking government revenues from the unexhausted sources of the country's wealth and from the creative toil of the people, to seek constantly, while preserving wise economy, to increase the productive powers of the country and to take care of the satisfaction of the people's needs.

"Such must be the ends of the desired changes.

"I am firmly convinced that they must succeed and that they are absolutely necessary for the good of my people, especially since both the Duma and the Imperial Council have turned their attention to these needs of the people by revising our alcohol laws.

"NICHOLAS."

*A ukase corresponds very closely in its character to an American proclamation. A rescript is the form of instructions to the Ministers and corresponds, in effect, to a statute law.

Then, as soon as the formalities could be completed, the Minister of the Interior, N. A. Maklakov, sent out instructions to the Governors of the provinces directing that the new order of things be carried out. The text of the Minister's instructions read:

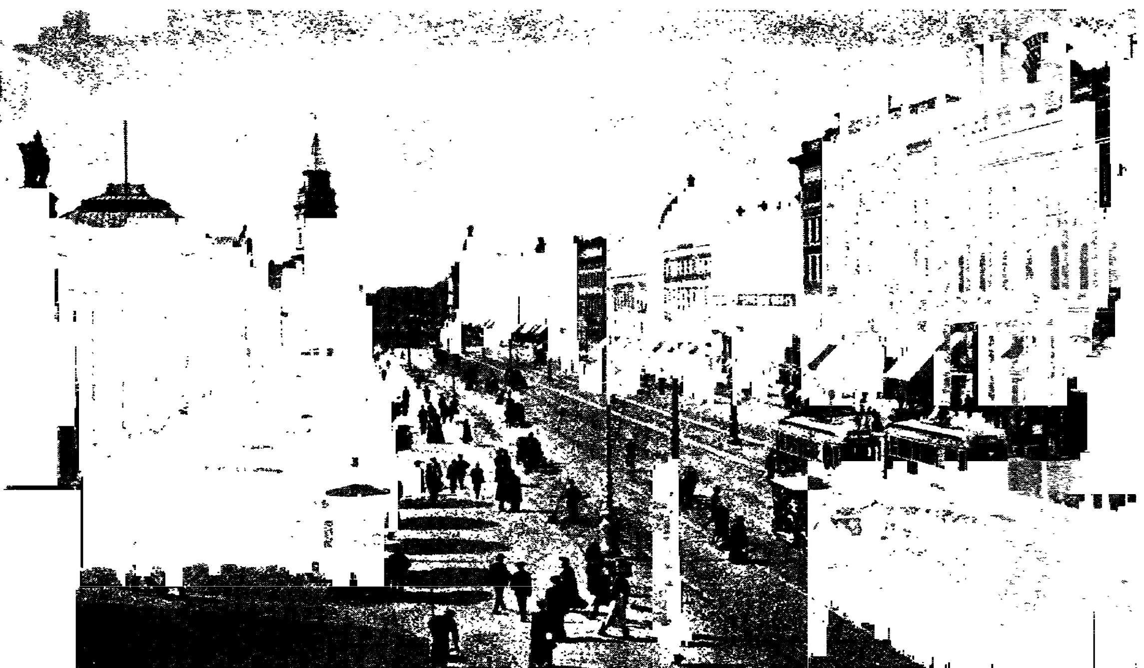
"His Imperial Majesty, in a rescript given on January 30, 1914, to the Minister of Finance, has chosen to point out that the prosperity of the Russian Treasury must be placed in dependence, not on the devastation of the spiritual and economic powers of the people, but on an increase of its material prosperity and of the productive powers of the people, which should not be undermined by intemperance.

"In order to carry out the will expressed in His Majesty's rescript the police must take measures to limit the abuse of alcoholic drink and to aid all persons and institutions fighting against drunkenness by all means permitted by the law.

"In issuing this letter I feel certain that the police, realizing its duty and the great importance of this matter, which has received the gracious attention of the Czar, will zealously attend to the execution of all the government measures which will follow a programme dictated by His Imperial Majesty. I am certain that the police will not allow in this matter any technical friction. The whole department must work in unison. A union of all the servants of the Emperor for the realization of this holy purpose will insure its success."*

In these sudden and drastic movements, the Kokovtsov idea of operating the monopoly as a purely fiscal agency to collect revenue was completely overthrown. In the future it was to be operated along lines that should discourage rather than encourage drink, in so far as this could be accomplished while operating the monopoly at all. The temperance leaders did not, at this time, ask for the immediate abolition of the vodka monopoly. They merely urged that it should be operated in such a manner that the minimum of evil should come out of the traffic and that it

*_Sovremennoye Slovo_ (Petrograd), March, 1914.



NEVSKY PROSPECT, PETROGRAD. THE GOSTINNY DVOR ON THE LEFT

should not be used to exploit to the utmost the miseries and sufferings of the people. De Cramer repeatedly stated that if liquor was to be sold at all, it could be sold by the government with the least harm, "provided the government really wished for that result." This reform in the policy of the government was, therefore, accomplished more than six months before the European war broke out or was even thought of.

And those who bore the heat and burden of the contest are not forgotten. On January 22 five members of the Duma, L. P. Zalit, Prince S. P. Mansirev, I. M. Rambot, J. U. Goldman and U. M. Oras, sent a congratulatory telegram to Nicholas de Cramer, member of the Imperial Council, saying: "With a feeling of deep satisfaction we have watched your efforts in the Council of the Empire directed against one of the greatest evils of mankind, alcoholism. In full accord with you, we greet in your person a valiant militant, to whom the prosperity of the people is dearer than the narrow material interests of the nobles of the Baltic provinces. Even if your efforts were not successful, it was surely by no fault of yours. One cannot possibly convince all those who prize most their own material interests."*

The reversal of the policy of the government as to the operations of the monopoly brought quick and radical results. During the first six months of 1914, the receipts from the vodka monopoly, as compared with the first six months of 1913, decreased by 2,500,000 roubles, showing that the previous rapid increase in consumption of the beverage had received a radical check.† Again, the policy of the government in grant-

*_Russkoye Slovo_ (Moscow), Jan. 23, 1915

†Statement of Finance Minister Bark in the Duma, reported in _Novoe Vremia_ (Petrograd), July 27, 1914.

ing petitions for the closing of vodka shops had a remarkable effect. During the five months, from February 1, 1914, to July 1, 1914, more than 800 petitions for local prohibition were "satisfied." During this period, 1,149 liquor shops were closed by prohibition, of which 447 were government monopoly shops and 702 were private ones.* The reform was well under way before the outbreak of hostilities. The government, under Peter L. Bark as Minister of Finance, had begun permitting local option, which had been refused by the Imperial Council in its consideration of the excise reform bill of only a few weeks before.

When the storm of war broke over Europe in the latter days of July, there came the first steps looking toward the wiping out of the drink traffic in Russia. Simultaneously with the orders for the general mobilization of the Russian troops went the order to close, immediately, all vodka, wine and beer shops in the Empire, an exception being made in the case of first-class restaurants. This order was promulgated by Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, and was purely a mobilization measure to prevent disturbances similar to those that accompanied the mobilization for the Japanese war in 1904. The order was effective only until complete mobilization should be accomplished.

The results of this order were surprising. Russia accomplished her mobilization in less than one-half the time it was expected to take. The rapid mobilization of the Russian forces, made possible by the closing of all drinking places, was the first disappointment to German calculations. Under the leadership of the irrepressible Tschelishev, deputations were or-

Novoe Vremia, July 15, 1914.

ganized to present petitions to the Tsar asking that the prohibition of Grand Duke Nicholas be continued until the war shall be over. The beneficent results of the closed policy during the mobilization were so apparent that quick results were obtained. The Tsar, on August 22, ordered that the existing prohibition of the sale of vodka and spirits be continued until the close of the war. This order did not apply to beer, the prohibition of which was only for the period of mobilization.

On August 25 the Council of Ministers adopted a rule proposed by the Minister of Finance to continue the prohibition of beer and porter until October 1.

On August 27 the Admiralty Council decided to abolish the rule of giving sailors a cup of vodka on certain occasions and substituted money therefor.

On September 27 the Tsar confirmed the decision of the Council of Ministers to the effect that on receipt of petitions of village administrative bodies and city councils, government vodka shops and also private liquor shops of all sorts should be closed, not only within the jurisdiction of the petitioners, but also within a limit of 300 yards of the boundaries thereof.* All shops, under such petitions, were to close within three months, and fees for the unexpired portion of the license term were to be returned pro rata. It was also ordered that, in the future, no license be granted for more than one year and that all existing licenses cease to be in force on December 31, 1914. The effect of these orders was that the sale of vodka was prohibited during the continuation of the war and that, after October 1, 1914, the sale of beer and wine was

*This order was published under date of October 10 in *Bulletin of Laws*, No. 275. Series No. 1.

left to the decision of the local authorities, under a sort of local option system.

On October 13, 1914, the Tsar approved of two elaborations of the former orders, both of which were promulgated on October 20 over the signature of Peter L. Bark, Minister of Finance. The first of these orders, No. 2373, reads as follows:

"The decision of the Council of Ministers, confirmed by His Imperial Majesty on the 13th day of the current month of October, grants the Minister of Finance a right to permit, in the cities and towns, beginning with November 1, 1914, upon conditions prescribed by him, the sale of beer and porter, which should not be consumed on the premises, providing that in the localities which are under military or siege law permission for the sale of beer should be given only by consent of the proper military authorities.

"In view of the above decision of the Council of Ministers, confirmed by His Majesty, I allow the superintendents of the Excise Departments, upon obtaining the consent of the Governors and the Mayors, and in the localities which are under military or siege law of the proper military authorities, to permit in the cities and towns, beginning with November 1, the sale of beer and porter from wholesale and retail stores, on the condition that the number of such places of sale should not exceed in each city 10 per cent of the total number of such places of sale, and that the drinks should not be consumed on the premises. Moreover, the sale of beer and porter for consumption outside of the place of sale may be permitted in certain 'Rhine Cellars,' but only in case, as a result of local conditions, the granting of such permission is found advisable. At the same time I request the superintendent of the Excise Department that the sale of beer and porter should not be permitted in places of sale in which there is any suspicion of their right to sell the above-named drinks, and also not to permit the sale of these drinks in such parts of the city in which the resumption of the sale of beer and porter is not desirable for the introduction of temperance, due to the character of the population.

"In the case of petitions presented by public institutions requesting a total prohibition of the sale of alcoholic drinks, the sale of beer and porter should not be permitted.

"In order to introduce a sufficient control over the proper conditions of the sale of these drinks I request the superintend-

ent of the Excise Department to take proper measures to institute a constant watch by the officials of their departments over the separate places of sale of beer and porter. In the case of any violations of the rules of such sale the superintendents of the Excise Departments are instructed to report this immediately to the Governors and Mayors and, aside from prosecuting the offenders, to request the proper civil or military authorities to order such places of sale of beer and porter closed, as provided for by Article 594 of the Excise Statute or by the Rules of the Extraordinary Law or of the Military Law.

"This is issued to the superintendents of the Excise Departments for their guidance."

The second order, No. 2374, reads:

"The decision of the Council of Ministers, confirmed by His Imperial Majesty on the 13th day of the current month of October, reads as follows: Until the end of the war all petitions of public institutions requesting a complete prohibition of sale of alcoholic drinks should be honored, and such sale in the localities covered by the petitions should be prohibited in all places of sale, without exception. If the petition comes from a village or volost community, or zemstvo councils or city councils, such orders should be issued by the Governors and the Mayors. Petitions coming from other institutions should be examined by the Minister of the Interior and, if found correct, proper orders should be issued by him. The superintendents of the Excise Department are informed by this decision of the Council of Ministers, confirmed by His Imperial Majesty, for their information and guidance."*

So far as the military side of the situation was concerned, the opinions and recommendations of Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, had great weight because on him rested responsibilities of supreme moment. It was he who caused the original prohibition order during mobilization to be issued, and it was largely on his recommendation that the prohibition of vodka was continued throughout the period of the war. So far

*Both orders were published in full in *Sovremennoye Slovo* (Petrograd), Oct. 22, 1914.

as the districts involved in military operations were concerned, Nicholas not only enforced the anti-vodka order with great vigor, but even prohibited the traffic in wine and beer. Absolute prohibition of the traffic in intoxicants of every sort prevails throughout the districts in which the Russian armies operate.* The success of the prohibition mobilization was such a vast improvement over any other mobilization ever attempted in Russian history that the lesson was too apparent to be ignored. This was the universal testimony of all the newspaper correspondents. "None of the reservists or of the civilians were intoxicated. The soldiers, the Cossacks, the sailors, and even the hooli-

London Times, Nov. 16, 1914.



Cartoon from Monthly Magazine (Petrograd), Sept., 1914, showing philanthropists fishing victims out of the great flood of Government liquor.

gans, were all as sober as judges. To sell a drop of spirits entailed a fine of 3,000 roubles."*

Then came an agitation looking to the permanent prohibition of the vodka traffic. This movement was led by such men as Deputy Tschelishev, of the Duma, and Nicholas de Cramer, of the Imperial Council. Tschelishev personally interviewed the members of the Ministry. The Minister of Communications, Ruchlov, said that he was entirely in favor of total prohibition. The Minister of War, General Souchomlinov, declared that alcoholic drinks will never be allowed in the country as long as the war lasts. The Minister of Agriculture, Krivoshein, also declared himself in favor of total prohibition. When the question of the sale of grape wines was discussed, Krivoshein remarked: "There is no provision in our law that would determine the composition of the grape wines in use. The strength of the wines sold in different parts of the country is entirely arbitrary, and measures must be taken against this." Count Witte, while expressing his gratification at the closing of the government vodka shops, pointed out the fact that it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against the clandestine sale of alcoholic drinks, which sale should be regarded as a crime of the highest order.†

Soon came the death warrant of the vodka monopoly. About the 1st of October the All-Russian Working Union of Christians, headed by its president, Grand Duke Constantine, uncle of the Tsar, petitioned the Emperor to make permanent the abolition of the traffic in vodka. The reply came back from Tsarskoe Selo in the following historic telegram:

*Francis McCullough, article on *Teetotal Russia*, in *London Daily News*, Sept. 18, 1914.

†*Viestnik Tresvosti* (Petrograd), Nov., 1914, p. 10.

"Petrograd. To the Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich. I thank the Russian Christian Labor Temperance Organization. I have already decided to abolish forever the government sale of whisky in Russia. "NICHOLAS."*

This does not necessarily mean that complete prohibition of the vodka traffic in Russia is to be made permanent, but it does mean that the government traffic in the same is at an end. The death warrant of the monopoly has been executed.

The agitation leading up to this telegram of the Tsar was of a most remarkable character. Conferences of representatives of the administration, the church and city zemstvos, held in twenty-two governments under the chairmanship of the respective governors, reported that the results of the prohibition were most satisfactory. Of these 22 conferences, 17 urged that all alcoholic drinks, including wine and beer, should be prohibited. Four voted in favor of permission to sell grape wine, but not a single conference voted in favor of continuing the sale of beer.† The Holy Synod received petitions from 17 bishops asking that body to use its influence in favor of continued prohibition. The Bishop of Riga sent a petition to the Minister of Finance in the name of the various temperance organizations of that place requesting him not to allow the beer shops to be reopened. Workmen in numerous Petrograd factories petitioned the Minister of Finance for total prohibition. A large group of Moscow manufacturers refused to petition for the resumption of the sale of liquors. Five hundred employees of Shrader's factory in Petrograd sent the Common Council an address thanking that body for its efforts for sobriety. The

**Russkoye Slovo* (Moscow), Oct. 7, 1914.

†*Viestnik Tresvosti* (Petrograd), Dec., 1914, p. 18.

University of Kiev, one of the greatest institutions of learning in Russia, sent a petition urging permanent prohibition of alcoholic beverages. In six cities, Sevak, Tula, Dankow, Smolensk, Kniagin and Moscow, the members of the juries serving at circuit court sessions sent in petitions for permanent prohibition of vodka. In the case of Moscow, the jury was made up of peasants, whose appeal in part read:

"It was with a feeling of profound sorrow that we saw that the chief cause of the majority of crimes was alcohol. It was hard, indeed, to punish our own brethren, the peasants, who were brought to committing the crimes by drink. Let our voice be joined to the universal call for temperance, that only means of regenerating the prosperity and the spiritual might of the people."

The appeal concluded as follows:

"Drunkenness is worse than the present war. Conditions may improve after the war, but drunkenness can bring nothing but general misfortunes."*

The effect of the Emperor's telegram to Constantine forever discontinuing the government sale of vodka was electric. Telegrams and messages of appreciation came from everywhere, from the highest to the lowest. One of the most striking was a telegram from the City Council of Moscow, a city that had something like 9,000 liquor shops of various kinds. The text of the telegram read:

"The City Council of Moscow lays before the feet of Your Imperial Majesty the feelings of exquisite joy experienced by the representatives of the population of the ancient capital upon receiving the intelligence to the effect that you have decided to discontinue forever the government sale of liquor.

"The city of Moscow expects that from now on the struggle against alcohol, the ancient foe of Russian life, will be carried on as a sacred duty by all the authorities and institutions that guard the life and the peaceful activities of the people, and that tem-

*_Russkoye Slovo_ (Moscow), Oct. 12, 1914.

perance will henceforth be the basis of our government and of our national life.

"The city of Moscow is cheerfully hopeful that the execution of Your Will, O Emperor, will not neglect to bar all paths through which alcohol may again come into general use and continue to poison the national organism, as it had been doing hitherto."*

The great cities were quick to act upon their powers to curtail or prohibit the traffic in beer and wine. In this, Petrograd led the way. At first, the City Council prohibited these beverages in all except forty-nine first-class restaurants, but shortly made the prohibition complete. On December 28, the Mayor of the city, Prince A. N. Obolensky, issued an order† enforcing the complete prohibition policy decreed by the City Council. Within twenty days after the power had been conferred upon them, the city government of the largest city in Russia, comprising 1,700,000 people,

**Viestnik Tresvosti*, Dec., 1914, p. 15.

†The text of Prince Obolensky's proclamation reads:

"In view of a petition of the Petrograd City Council, and in accordance with the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers, confirmed by His Majesty on October 13, 1914, and also with the circular order No. 2385, issued by the Minister of Finance on November 5, the district chiefs of police are instructed to stop immediately all sale, whether for consumption on the premises or at home, of all spirits, wine, whiskies and all other alcoholic drinks, not excluding grape wines, champagnes, and beer, in all places where such sale is still going on, i. e., in first-class and club restaurants, and in all wine shops that have no bars. Care must be taken that no clandestine trade in above-named drinks takes place.

"The sale of alcohol and the monopoly wine (vodka) for chemical, scientific, school, pharmacetic, cosmetic, etc., purposes may be made at the government wine-shops by order of the Chief of the Excise Bureau, and, in certain particular cases, by order of the Minister of Finance. The sale for the same purposes of other alcoholic drinks may take place in private places of sale upon the presentation by the district chiefs of police upon their

had enacted total prohibition of all intoxicating liquors. And the spirit of the Russian people in this matter is exemplified in the attitude of Prince Obolensky, Mayor of Petrograd, who issued the prohibition proclamation. Prince Obolensky himself is a distiller and was formerly Associate Minister of Finance. To a newspaper reporter,* he said, regarding the course that the distillers should pursue: "Serious as the matter may be for us, if drunkenness can be eradicated, we distillers are in duty bound to make every possible sacrifice for it." What a different spirit from that usually manifested by the average American or British distiller. The Petrograd Council passed the measure by a vote of 56 to 39.

On December 22 the Moscow City Council adopted complete prohibition of all intoxicants, including wine and beer, by a vote of three to one.† Other

*_Reitch_ (Petrograd), Sept. 12, 1914.

†_Reitch_, Dec. 23, 1914.

own strictly personal responsibility. Such places of sale shall be required to have special certificates, issued by the Chief of the Excise Bureau, in accordance with the circular order, No. 2385, issued by the Minister of Finance on November 5, 1915.

"The places where the prohibited drinks are kept, in the establishments that have the above certificates, must be always kept closed, with locked doors and windows, and unlighted at night. They may be opened only for the purpose of making a sale in accordance with the above regulations.

"The location of the office or the private dwelling of the owner, where such sale may take place, may be indicated upon the doors of the establishments or on the signs.

"The places of sale, that do not hold a certificate for special sale, must be closed and locked, and entrance into them may take place only by the order of the Excise Inspection.

"The present orders must be executed immediately upon their publication throughout the entire territory of the city.

"The Mayor of Petrograd,
"Major-General Prince A. N. Obolensky."

cities of the Empire began immediately adopting the total prohibition plan. Tambov, Viatka, Ekaterineburg, Ufa, Minsk, Astrakhan, Samara, Ekaterinoslav and many other towns and cities both in Russia and Siberia quickly adopted the prohibition of wine and beer. Up to November 1, 1914, 52 cities and towns had petitioned for the total and permanent abolition of alcoholic drinks and 15 petitioned for prohibition until the end of the war.*

It should not be forgotten that in prohibiting these lighter beverages, these cities lose almost as much revenue as does the Imperial Government in abolishing the vodka monopoly. These municipalities have, heretofore, derived a large part of their income from licenses to sell beer and wine in traktirs, wine cellars, restaurants and hotels. The City Council of Petrograd estimates that it would lose 500,000 roubles per year on beer and wine licenses alone, and the aggregate loss of all the Russian cities will be very great, but the determination to eradicate drunkenness is so strong that it overrides all considerations of this sort. The people are confident that they will find no difficulty in rearranging the municipal as well as the national finances.

The beneficent results of the total prohibition policy became at once strikingly apparent. These evidences and the satisfaction of the people were well expressed by the Chairman of the Budget Committee of the Duma. In presenting the Russian Budget for 1915, he said:

"In this connection I would like to call your attention to the extremely important questions of temperance. Our legislative bodies made attempts to solve this question by all sorts of compromises. It was proposed to diminish something here, change

**Russkoye Slovo* (Moscow), Nov. 7, 1914.

something there. But the question was decided differently, radically, in a straightforward way. One is almost tempted to say that it was decided in a military way, by a frontal attack. This measure merits the enthusiastic approval of all, even those who drank before. But together with enthusiasm there come from all parts of Russia expressions of fear, lest the great cause of temperance be not brought to an end very soon. It seems impossible that such a good movement will not deteriorate. But I am confident that the proper governmental department will give us ample assurances that temperance is a fact, which must be taken as such, and that drunkenness and the sale of alcoholic drinks, whether by the government, or by private enterprise, is a part of the unretrievable past.

"We accept temperance as a great measure, accept it with glad and grateful hearts. And we are confident that new conditions of life will soon arise, in which a new type of man will spring into being, man, strong physically and spiritually, who will lead Russia along the road of national independence from all influences, in whatever departments of life they be asserted, in whatever spheres of society they have gained a footing."*

Summarizing the results of the dry policy, Mr. Ivan Zhilkin, writing in a leading Russian review, said:

"All Russia is filled with enthusiasm and gratitude. As if by the waving of a magic wand, drunkenness, debauchery, wild cries, disputing and fighting have ceased in the streets of both villages and towns. Factories and workshops are filling their orders with promptness and accuracy. In households long accustomed to poverty, strife, drunken quarrels and blows, there are now peace and quiet. The peasant families are even making pecuniary savings, which, although small, are as welcome as they are unexpected. The very face of Russia, long disfigured by alcoholic excess, seems to have been transformed and ennobled."†

Writing from Tambov under date of October 28, a newspaper correspondent thus summarizes the changes in that section:

"Three months have passed since the sale of vodka ceased, and it is now possible to estimate the extent of the beneficent

*_Russkoye Slovo_ (N. Y.), March 15, 1915.

†_Viestnik Europa_ (Petrograd), Sept., 1914, p. 339.

results that have followed Prohibition. The villages of this province, according to the reports of the peasants, have become so changed as to be unrecognizable. Fights, robberies and fires, they say, have almost ceased. But, without placing too much reliance upon these statements, we may show the results of Prohibition by objective facts. According to the records of the procurator's office of the Tambov district, the average number of criminal cases in the month of August for the year 1911-12-13 was 515. In August, 1914 [after the closing of the vodka shops], the number was only 324. This is the lowest criminal rate on record. Information collected and compiled by the Fire Insurance Board of the same district shows that the average number of accidental or incendiary fires in August and September for the five years immediately preceding 1914 was 960. The number in the same months of this year was only 630, which is also the lowest ever recorded. The chief of the Fire Insurance Board adds that this decrease in the number of fires represents a saving of 500,000 roubles in sixty days, or at the rate of 3,000,000 roubles a year. In the Moshansk and Tambov districts, where the number of fires has always been great, the results are still more surprising. During the months of the autumnal holidays last year the number of fires in the peasant villages of these districts was 148. In the same months this year it fell to 65. The police of the 'bazaar precinct' in Tambov report that the monthly average of arrests has fallen from 300 in previous years to 70 in 1914. The police inspector of another Tambov precinct says that his station-house contains so few prisoners that he is thinking of offering it to the sanitary authorities for a hospital. The President of the Tambov Zemstvo Board, who has just returned from an extensive trip through the rural districts, says that, strange as it may seem, the peasant villages in this time of war show unmistakable evidences of prosperity. The mujiks are better dressed, their taxes are paid more promptly, and trade in the village fairs has become more active."*

George Kennan, writing in *The Outlook* for December 16, 1914, summarizes items gleaned from current Russian newspapers in these words:

A correspondent of the *Russkoye Slovo*, telegraphing from Viatka, says: "The closing of the government dispensaries in this city has been followed by a marked decrease in the number

**Reitch* (Petrograd), Oct. 30, 1914.

of robberies. Hooliganism has almost disappeared, and the police lockups, always filled on bazaar days with drunken men, are now empty. According to a member of the provincial zemstvo, the peasant villages are completely transformed. Drunkenness, fighting and disorder, so noticeable on holidays and fair days, have ceased."

A correspondent of the same review in Simbirsk says: "The suspension of the vodka traffic has diminished crime in this city by 50 per cent, and hooliganism by 90 per cent. The same results are reported from a whole series of peasant villages in this province."

From Orel the report is: "Prohibition has reduced crime here, as compared with previous months, by 80 per cent. The court rooms and police stations are empty."

In Voronezh the police state that "in the first half of July, when the vodka dispensaries were open, there were in this city twenty-seven murders or other serious crimes. In the first half of August, when the vodka shops were closed, there were only eight."

The detective police of Ekaterinoslav report that "crimes attributable to drunkenness have wholly ceased. Since the beginning of the mobilization there has not been a single case of murder, robbery, assault or hooliganism, although prior to that time there were more than a hundred every month."

In Ekaterinodar, according to the police, "crime has decreased by 90 per cent, hooliganism has disappeared, and the town is absolutely quiet."

In Saratov "the monthly average of crimes has fallen from 130 to 60. The asylum for alcoholics is empty. The river stevedores have put on new clothes and are sending money home. Attempts at suicide have ceased."

In Yaroslav "the registers of the justices of the peace show that between the 31st of July and the 28th of August there was brought before the magistrates only one case. In the same length of time before the suspension of the sale of vodka the number of cases often exceeded 200."

A correspondent in Kostroma writes: "The number of crimes and offenses in this city in the fortnight prior to the suspension of the vodka traffic was about 300. In the first half of August there were only 8."

And then he adds that, "It would not be difficult to fill many pages of *The Outlook* with reports like

these, from zemstvos, town councils, peasant communes, charitable societies, police officials and justices of the peace in all parts of the Empire; but the above quotations are sufficient, perhaps, to show how complete is the economic and sociologic transformation that Russia has undergone since the suspension of the liquor traffic."

Writing again in *The Outlook* for February 17, Mr. Kennan, after detailing some of the difficulties attending the complete enforcement of prohibition in the large cities, thus describes the outcome in the rural districts:

"In the country, however—that is, in the peasant villages—the state of affairs seems to be quite different. There the drinking of intoxicants has almost wholly ceased, partly because it is more difficult to get denatured alcohol and 60 per cent wine in the country than it is in the towns, and partly because the peasants regard the war very seriously and have cleansed themselves of the sin of drunkenness, just as a mujik who is about to die puts on a clean, white shirt. Sobriety, in the stress of peril and under the shadow of death, has come to be regarded as a moral and religious duty. Even the peasant women talk more about prohibition than they do about the war, and peasant children ask their mothers, Will papa always be as he is now?"

Regarding the manner of the local authorities in accepting the new situation, Mr. Kennan says:

"Since my previous article on this subject was written scores of district *zemstvos* (popular assemblies or local legislatures) have been in session, and have not only adopted resolutions favoring absolute prohibition forever, but have declared war on all 'moonshiners' and all substitutes for vodka of every possible kind. The most energetic supporters of these prohibitory resolutions are the peasants, while in the ranks of the compromisers are to be found, for the most part, only the officials, the landed proprietors, and the representatives of the petty nobility."

In conclusion, Mr. Kennan states:

"Evidences of the beneficial effects of prohibition continue



• HISTORIC MEETING OF ALLIES' FINANCIERS

AT THE LEFT IS M. PETER BARK, RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE, EXPLAINING TO M. RIBOT (FRENCH MINISTER), IN THE CENTER, AND DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE (BRITISH MINISTER), ON THE RIGHT, THAT THE ABOLITION OF THE VODKA MONOPOLY WILL NOT CRIPPLE RUSSIAN FINANCES

to accumulate. The efficiency of labor and the savings of labor have increased more than 50 per cent; the peasant population is better dressed and better fed than it has ever been before; and crime, disorder, fires and 'hooliganism' have everywhere decreased. In the communal *skhods* (a Russian variety of the New England town meeting) the sober and intelligent peasants have acquired for the first time complete supremacy, and are bringing about a great change for the better in village administration. Under the old régime the *skhods* were largely given up to vodka drinking and quarreling, and the better class of peasants would have nothing to do with them. Now the best men take part in them, village affairs are soberly and intelligently discussed, and appropriations of village money are made for co-operative societies, reading-rooms, and movies. At one of these *skhods* a village peasant, speaking on the subject of prohibition, said: 'Formerly we had the rule of "fists," shouters, bargain-wetters, and drunkards; but since the village became sober these people have lost their power. Now we elect to office men who can read and write, sober men, and thrifty men—most of them members of co-operative societies.'"

On January 13, 1915, a conference took place under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Petrograd, Prince A. N. Obolensky, at which, at the instance of the Petrograd bread dealers, the question of increasing the cost of flour, bread and macaroni was discussed. It was pointed out that the price of flour, and consequently of bread, had been raised primarily by the fact that as a result of the prohibition of alcoholic drinks, the prosperity of the people has increased. Especially in the grain-producing governments along the Volga, the farmers were refraining from selling their supplies of grain, as they expect still higher prices.

Deputy Tschelishev expressed satisfaction at the showing after one month's experience, in these words:

"In spite of the general depression caused by the war, the paralysis of business, the closing of factories, and the interruption of railroad traffic, the people felt no depression. Savings

banks showed an increase in deposits over the preceding month and over the corresponding month of the preceding year. At the same time there was a boom in the sale of meats, groceries, clothing, dry goods and house furnishings. The 30,000,000 roubles a day that had been paid for vodka were now being spent for the necessities of life.

"The average working week increased from three and four days to six, the numerous holidays of the drinker having been eliminated. The working-day also became longer, and the efficiency of the worker was perhaps doubled. Women and children, who seldom were without marks showing the physical violence of the husband and father, suddenly found themselves in an undreamed-of paradise. There were no blows, no insults, and no rough treatment There was bread on the table, milk for the babies, and a fire in the kitchen."*

In its issue dated January 6, 1915, the *Russkoye Slovo,* of New York, the largest daily Russian newspaper in America, comments on the results editorially:

"Temperance has made Russian labor much more productive. As a general thing Russian labor is much less productive than either the European or the American. But the mere fact of the absence of drink has increased the productivity of a Russian laborer in some industries by as much as 35 per cent.

"The following facts are given by a Petrograd labor periodical. In the furniture shops of the Great and Small Ochta the amount of furniture turned out after the coming of temperance increased by 20-25 per cent. The brush shops turned out 10 per cent more product.

"The Moscow papers note the fact that despite the difficulties of war time and the scarcity of work, the laboring families buy more clothes and home utensils than before the war. The workmen themselves explain this by the fact that the money that was formerly expended for drink now goes toward elevating what is called in the United States the 'standard of living.'"

On February 12, M. Kharitonov, comptroller of the Russian treasury, speaking before the duma budget committee, declared that owing to the great increase in the national savings, due to Prohibition, the

**New York Times' Current History of the War,* Feb., 1915. p. 833.

extraordinary outlay occasioned by the war had caused no suffering as yet in Russia.

As proof of this, Mr. Kharitonov said the national savings in December, 1913, which amounted to 700,000 roubles ($350,000), had increased to 29,100,000 roubles ($14,550,000), in December, 1914. He added that the total savings for 1913 amounted to 34,000,000 roubles ($17,000,000), as compared with 84,000,000 roubles ($42,000,000), for 1914.

Continuing his discussion, Comptroller Kharitonov thus summarized the benefits of the Prohibition program:*

"The present heroic period has made possible the speedy introduction of heroic measures. The coming of temperance, valuable in other ways, has proven to be especially so for the economic conditions of the country during the war. Temperance has been that mighty force that has made it possible for the economic powers of our country to come out triumphant over the baleful influence of the war, and has increased the efficiency of our labor. It was this increase in efficiency that made possible to make up for the absence of working hands, whose services are needed for the gun and the sword. It was temperance that made possible the growth of savings, which is especially useful in the time of war, when the country has to undergo martial, as well as financial, sacrifices. Finally, temperance has made possible the spiritual bond that exists between the country and the battle fronts, has forged the unconquerable unity of the army and the people and has thus been a source of national courage and faith in the eventual triumph over the foe. No one could expect, a year ago, when the Imperial rescript concerning the necessity of combating the alcohol evil was issued to the Minister of Finance, that Russia would so soon become the most temperate country in the world. I shall permit myself to quote in this connection the famous words of Tiutchev: 'You cannot understand Russia, nor apply to her the common yardstick. She is different from anything else. You can only believe in Russia.'"

*Kharitonov's statement before the Budget Committee of the Duma, as it appeared in *Reitch* (Petrograd), Jan. 29, 1915.

On February 13, the Paris correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph* gave an interview that he had just had with the Russian Minister of Finance, M. Bark. In answer to a remark that what most challenged the admiration of the world was the heroic message of the Tsar renouncing the liquor revenue, the minister said:

"I have always cherished a great faith in the potentialities of the Russian nation, but I must admit that even my optimistic anticipations have been greatly exceeded by the reality. As you know, there was a considerable deficit to be covered in the ordinary budget of the year 1914. Well, we have stopped the gap without difficulty or effort. We had 500,000,000 roubles in the free reserve, and other available funds from which we drew, and the problem was solved. I increased some few taxes during the remaining months of last year, and I found that the solvency of the peasants has been raised very considerably by the law prohibiting the consumption of alcohol, and that the beneficent operation of this edict continues to make itself felt progressively.

"It is difficult for foreigners to realize how great are Russia's economic resources, and how much greater they have become since the promulgation by His Majesty of that humanitarian law which, I may add, is felt by the Russian people themselves, not as a restriction, but as an inestimable boon conferred upon them by their provident monarch. I can assure you that the productivity of every class of workmen in Russia, whether we examine those engaged in agricultural or industrial pursuits, has already increased by from 30 to 50 per cent, to say nothing of the cessation of the waste which formerly accompanied and followed the consumption of alcohol.

"Again, the rates for the maintenance of prisoners have fallen, because crime has everywhere diminished, and in some districts has disappeared altogether. Another indication of the welcome change which has come over the nation is afforded by the returns of the savings banks. In war time people are everywhere nervous; and in Russia, as elsewhere, large sums were withdrawn from the savings banks as soon as war was declared. Well, since the total prohibition of alcohol, the accounts I have received from these institutions throughout the country are so encouraging that even I, whose faith in the Russian people has always

been large and firm, did not anticipate the rapid and splendid result which they denote. Although only a few months elapsed between the promulgation o the Tsar's humane and patriotic edict and the end of 1914, the excess of deposits over withdrawals amounted to 84,000,000 roubles, or twice the amount of the preceding year. Russia's economic situation, therefore, is not merely excellent, but it is rapidly improving, and my faith in her future —not a blind, but a carefully reasoned faith—is boundless."

Mary Isabel Brush, in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) of February 20, 1915, gives a further interview which she had with Finance Minister Bark, at his headquarters in Petrograd, in which the latter declared:

"When we sold vodka the people were poor. They stimulated themselves with an artificial strength to work for a few kopeks, with which they bought more of the fuel for renewing the artificial strength. The fuel, of course, was vodka. Though the money for drink went into the treasury, the human machine which made that money became weaker and weaker. So the nation was really cutting off its revenue at the source."

In the *London Daily Mail*, February 22, 1915, its Petrograd correspondent, H. Hamilton Fyffe, states:

"The prohibition argument is strong. Crime has become rarer. The records of the courts prove this. Savings bank deposits have increased enormously. The number of patients in Petrograd hospitals has fallen off in a surprising degree. In the towns, workmen who used to spend their wages as soon as they got them are setting up in business for themselves. Peasants who, in vodka days, never put by a kopek, are buying good plows and drills and harvesting machines. There is good work for all and wages are rather higher than they were before the war. In all ranks there are many (women as well as men) who are the better for their enforced abstinence. Brightness has come back to eyes dulled by over indulgence. Cheeks which were gray and flabby have color in them again."

The war correspondents give similar accounts of the happy results of the no-drink policy in the army. "The soberness of the army is beyond question. I

have not seen a single tipsy or disorderly soldier or officer, and hearsay reports are extremely rare," writes one.* And again the correspondent of the same paper reports:

"The one thing that impresses the observer more and more each day is the soberness and good behavior of the Russian troops. I have now been with the army nearly three weeks, and have seen thousands upon thousands of soldiers from all parts of Russia. I have yet to see the first drunken or disorderly man connected with the army, either officer or soldier. The dread of soldiery, which is the rule when armies are spread over the land, is absolutely lacking. It is certain that the prohibition of strong drink has worked wonders in the Russian Army, and is one of the greatest factors in the splendid showing, both in the field and in the cities, that is being made by the Russian armies today both in Galicia and in the Polish theater of war."†

Under date of March 2, 1915, United States Consul General John H. Snodgrass, of Moscow, made a report to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the State Department at Washington. In this report, Consul Snodgrass thus summarized his observations regarding the effect of the Prohibition policy in Moscow:

"The Prohibition of selling brandy in the government monopoly shops was introduced throughout the Empire from the beginning of the war, on the day of mobilization, and has now been in force for more than six months. One of the Russian papers has made inquiries concerning the results of this measure and has published some of the statistical data that were collected. The following list shows the consumption of vodka in the city of Moscow in 1914 compared with the preceding year: July, 612,686 gallons in 1913 and 359,124 gallons in 1914; August, 667,926 gallons in 1913 and 23,373 gallons in 1914; September, 759,947 gallons in 1913 and 7,314 gallons in 1914; October, 707,688 gallons in 1913 and 2,913 gallons in 1914. During the first three months vodka could be obtained at the first-class restaurants for

London Times, Nov. 9, 1914.

†*Ibid*, Nov. 19, 1915.

consumption in the same, the selling of vodka in bottles being prohibited under a fine of $1,500.

"It is observed in the manufacturing concerns that labor has become much more productive than before. Formerly at the Moscow mills many workmen would not appear on Monday, and a number of those who did were unfit for duty in consequence of their Sunday excesses. This is no longer the case; both the quality and the quantity of labor performed has improved."

The same no-drink policy prevails when the Russian army goes outside of Russian territory. The Army Orders of Grand Duke Nicholas provided that as soon as the Russian troops occupy a town, the



liquor shops must be immediately closed, and that no liquor be supplied to the soldiers under any circumstances.

"So tremendous is the improvement, indeed, that even at the end of the war there will doubtless be an agitation for the abolition of the liquor traffic altogether, and the conversion of Russia into what the Americans would call a 'dry' Empire," wrote the correspondent of the *London Daily News.** The Petrograd correspondent of the *London Morning Post* wrote: "The effects of the enforced sobriety throughout Russia have proved to the population how beneficial the government measures have been. Village women are openly saying that heaven has come upon earth, and this in the midst of the most bloody war ever known in history. . . . From many centers, especially from country districts, petitions keep coming in, begging that the present total prohibition, which extends for the duration of the war, may be made perpetual."†

"The great victory over drunkenness in Russia has received far too little attention in this country. Since China proscribed opium the world has seen nothing like it. We have been well reminded that in sternly prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquor Russia has already vanquished a greater foe than the Germans," declared the *London Times*‡ in a leading article.

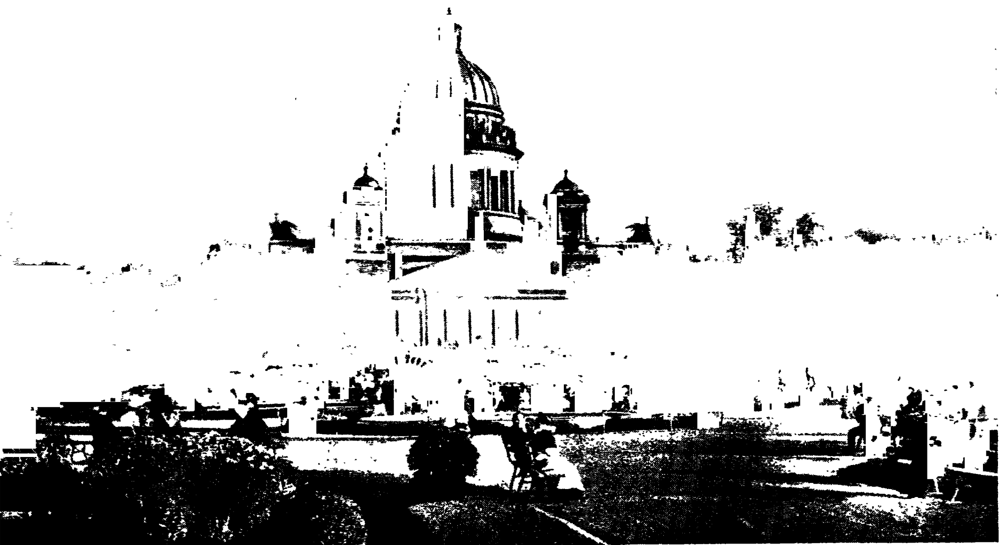
In the issue of March 5, 1915, the *London Times* contains the following from its special correspondent with the Russian army, Mr. Stanley Washburn:

"One cannot write of the Russian mobilization or of the rejuvenation of the Russian Empire without touching on the pro-

*Sept. 18, 1914.

†Oct. 17, 1914.

‡Sept. 21, 1914.



ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL

THE LARGEST AND MOST MAGNIFICENT CHURCH IN PETROGRAD. BUILT BY CATHERINE II. IN 1765. IT RESTS ON OVER 1,200 PILES DRIVEN INTO MARSHY LAND. EACH OF THE FOUR MAIN ENTRANCES ARE SUPPORTED BY SIXTEEN MONOLITHS OF SOLID FINNISH GRANITE, EACH 55 FEET HIGH.

hibition of vodka. Those who know Russia never dreamed that when the lid was put on, it would be air-tight, and the profoundest believers in prohibition never imagined how far-reaching would be the benefits. The first manifest evidence of increased efficiency was, of course, in the manner and promptness with which the army assembled; but, from that day, the benefits have been increasingly visible, not only in the army, but in every phase of Russian life. At a time when money has been tight the savings banks have enormously increased their deposits. . . .

"The most important effects, however, have been in the army. In nearly six months' association with the armies in many different theaters of operations I have not seen a single drunken or tipsy officer or soldier. This, then, was the first sign of what New Russia intended to do in this war. At one stroke she freed herself of the curse that has paralyzed her peasant life for generations. This in itself is nothing short of a revolution."

It was not long before the good results of the no-drink regime began to become apparent in government statistics. M. Kharitonov, the Treasury Comptroller, speaking in the name of the Minister of Finance before the Budget Committee of the Duma, on January 25, announced that while the population of the Russian Empire is confronted with certain economic difficulties as the result of the war, still no great suffering has been caused thereby. The cause of these favorable economic conditions in Russia was, no doubt, the prohibition of the sale of spirits. As a proof of this he quoted statistics of the national savings, which, in December, 1913, only amounted to 700,000 roubles, as compared with 29,100,000 r. in December, 1914; while in the first half of January, 1913, they were 300,000 r., as compared with 15,300,000 r. for the corresponding period this year. The total savings for 1913 amounted to 34,000,000 r., as against 84,000,000 r. in 1914. These remarkable figures constitute an overwhelming proof of the unshakable economic power of Russia.*

**London Times*, Jan. 26, 1915.

During the first two months of temperance the population of Russia saved 144,500,000 roubles, or 2,400,000 roubles a day. The Government's Savings Banks at Moscow and other cities report that recently the number of small depositors has increased, especially among the workers. In small places new branches have to be opened. As a general thing, the month of August shows heavy drawings upon the savings banks, while this year, in spite of the war, the month of August gave an increase of 7,000,000 roubles. This result is considered by the Ministry of Finance to be due entirely to temperance.*

Naturally there have been attempts at illicit distillation, but these have not been as extensive as might have been expected under such revolutionary circumstances. The Ministry of Finance made an investigation and issued a statement which covered the first six months in which prohibition had been effective. The statement shows that during this period government inspectors discovered 2,825 illicit distilleries producing a special kind of raw whisky called *kumushka.* The word "distillery," however, means but little when it is considered that a teapot and a piece of rubber or metal pipe is sufficient to constitute a still. It also appears from the statement that, of these 2,825 distilleries, only 160 were found with a first-class equipment. In all, 92 places were found where polishes and varnishes were rectified into drinkables and 60 places where denatured alcohol was being rectified.† In a country comprising one-sixth of the earth's surface, it is somewhat surprising that a larger number of illicit concerns were not unearthed.

**Viestnik Tresvosti* (Petrograd), December, 1914.

†*Russkoye Slovo* (N. Y.), March 25, 1915.

The Russian people are jubilant at the outlook, and so express themselves at every opportunity. Even the distillers who so fiercely fought the excise reform proposals in 1913 now cheerfully accept the situation and, instead of fighting the government, are planning how best to utilize their alcohol by promoting its use in a denatured form in manufactures, and in this they are receiving the hearty co-operation of the government. These men are for the most part Russians first and distillers afterward.

Minister of Finance Bark plainly asks Russia to make the sacrifice of removing her troubles because, if she does, "the people will be healthier and the state will be stronger." Those who made their calculations on Russia going into the war after the manner of a gigantic drunken hoodlum were mistaken for once. Drink was altogether too great a factor in her humiliation at the hands of Japan to be forgotten.

What will be done after the war is over, no one can tell. It may be that Providence is using this frightful Golgotha to work out some far-reaching problem for the permanent welfare of humanity. It would be indeed a fortunate war, one well worth while, if it should end in the extinction of both war and drink. What language contains words powerful enough to describe the boon such an outcome would be to the world. There is no seer to foretell, but little by little the veil of the future is being lifted, and we get glimpses of possibilities when the resources of the earth may be used for the welfare rather than for the destruction of the children of men. Out of the chaos of a thousand years comes this semi-barbaric civilization with a new revelation, to which the world listens and wonders.

And what of the drink monopoly? "They call

me the 'father of the drink monopoly,' and I do not deny it. But I wanted to make the girl an honest woman, whereas she has been brought up by other persons in such a way that she is now walking the Nevsky Prospect. I intended her for an honest life, and not for one of vice. My heart aches on her account," said the great Count Witte a few weeks before his death. Those who have visited Petrograd and are familiar with the sinister meaning behind the reference to a girl "walking the Nevsky Prospect" can understand the bitterness of the Count's words.

Never in the history of the world did a man ally himself to the powers of vice without suffering therefrom. Never in the history of civilization has a nation harnessed itself to the institutions of debauchery without having visited upon it evils incalculable in their corroding power. One by one civilizations have come and, under such policies, they have disappeared, regardless of what good may have been bequeathed by them to history. The development of law did not save wanton Rome. Unnatural vices blotted out Greece despite her art and her philosophy. War did not save Assyria, neither did the perfection of the occult save Egypt, the light of the world for fifty centuries. Just as the university man, given over to vice, ends his days in the Potter's field, likewise the nation, following this path, finds itself buried deep under the eternal progress of the world. The law of the survival of the fittest applies to nations with equal force as to individuals, and is as unchanging as the principle of gravitation which holds in place planets of the universe. The balances of account hold good in the moral as well as in the physical world, and when an attempt is made to compute how many countless billions the people of Russia have paid out in order to

get the vodka millions into the government treasury, one is lost in a maze of bewildering calculation. He can have no mental conception of the immensity of the statistics; neither can he fathom the bottomless depths of human suffering that they represent. Just so, in an attempt to comprehend the distance to the farthest star, the observer is bewildered, stupefied and, in the midst of such things, instinctively, helplessly, hopefully, turns his thoughts and his heart upward to Almighty God.



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GLOSSARY

Brief definitions are here given of Russian words and terms that frequently appear in American books and newspapers.

Arshin. A measure of length, equal to 16 *vesrshoks,* or 2 feet and 4 inches.

Boyars. The early nobles, followers of the prince.

Braga. Home-made beer.

Derevnia. A village.

Desiatina. A unit of square measure, amounting to 2.7 acres.

Dom. A house.

Droshky. A light, open carriage.

Druzhina. Followers or companions of the early princes.

Dvor. A yard.

Dvornik. A janitor.

Feldsher. Assistant to a physician.

Funt. A measure of weight, equal to .90281179 avoirdupois pounds.

Gospodi. The Lord.

Gubernia. (Government.) A Russian province corresponding to an American state.

Ikon. A holy image or picture.

Intelligentzia. The intellectuals, the cultured classes.

Ispravnik. Head of police in a town.

Isvoschik. A hackman.

Izba. A peasant home.

Kabak. A drinking shop where food is not served. Usually denotes an illicit liquor shop.

Katorga. A penal colony.

Kniaz. A prince.

Kopek. One one-hundredth part of a rouble.

Kupetz. A merchant.

Kvas. A mildly fermented beverage made of dried bread or fruit pulp.

Lavka. A store. Uusually applied to a drinking shop.

Mir. The village organization.

Mishchane. The middle class.

Mujik. The Russian peasant.

Nagaika. A heavy whip, used by the Cossacks.

Oulitza. A street.

Ouyezd. A canton, or "county."

Pereoulok. An alley.

Pevo. Lager beer.

Pogrom. A massacre, or destruction, usually applied to massacres of the Jews.

Pood. A measure of weight, equal to forty funts, or 36.1127 avoirdupois.

Prospect. An avenue.

Rescript. An Imperial order issued to a Cabinet Minister or to the Senate.

Rouble. A coin valued at about 52 cents in the United States money.

Sobor. An assembly. Generally used with the word *Cafedralny* to denote a cathedral.

Starosta. The administrative head of a Russian village.

Tchetvert. A measure of capacity, equal to 5.95 American bushels.

Tchinovnik. A government official.

Traktir. A cheap restaurant where liquor is served by the drink.

Troika. A three-horse team.

Troitsa. The Trinity.

Tsar. The Russian Emperor.

Tsarevich. The Crown Prince of Russia.

Tsaritsa, or *Tsarina.* The Russian Empress.

Ukase. An Imperial proclamation.

Veche. The assembly of burghers of early times.

Vedro. A measure of capacity, equal to 2.7 Imperial gallons, or 3.249 American gallons.

Vershok. A measure of length, equal to 1.75 inches.

Versta. A measure of distance, amounting to .6629 mile.

Volost. A subdivision of the *ouyezd.*

Yamschik. A driver.

Zemstvo. A local assembly.